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### FEBRUARY MEETING, 1891.

THE stated meeting was held on Thursday, the 12th instant, at three o'clock, P. M., the President, Dr. George E. Ellis, in the chair.

After the reading of the record of the last stated meeting, the Recording Secretary read a letter of acceptance from Judge William S. Shurtleff, who was in Europe at the time of his election as a Resident Member, and who had just returned home.

The Librarian read the list of donors to the Library for the last month. Among the accessions was a manuscript journal, in five quarto volumes, kept by Charles Pickering, M.D., during the years 1838–1841, when he was connected with the Antarctic Exploring Expedition sent out by the United States Government, and bequeathed to the Society by his widow. There was also a manuscript, given by Miss Elizabeth Frame, of Shubenacadie, Nova Scotia, containing sketches of sixteen ministers settled in that Province during the last century, of whom eleven were graduates of Harvard College, as well as other interesting matter.

The Cabinet-keeper called attention to two fine portraits, by Copley, of Samuel Quincy and his wife, which had been placed on deposit with the Society by Mr. Quincy Phillips, of Cambridge, their great-grandson. Samuel Quincy was an older brother of Josiah Quincy, Jr., but adhered to the British Government, and was Solicitor-General at the time of the so-called Boston Massacre. The maiden name of Mrs. Quincy was Hannah Hill.

The President then spoke as follows: —

Those of us who attended the funeral rites of our late eminent and highly esteemed associate, Charles Devens, as well as those who have followed the numerous and earnest eulogiums of him, in public and private, have had an impressive reminder of the many points at which he touched the highest interests and hearts of this community. Those funeral rites,

with their union of religious and military observances, and the full assembling and participation of those who represent the responsibilities and honors of our professional and social life, were our homage to the soldier and the jurist, the general and the judge. Like Sir Harry Vane, of Milton's sonnet, he knew "the bounds of either sword," of war and peace. Not a word of exception has found utterance to the universal and varied tributes paid to him as the leader of an army and the high magistrate on the bench. But besides all these have been the expressions of esteem and warm attachment in private relations, for the charms and the dignity, the refinement and the urbanity, which gave such a singular attractiveness to his character, to his features, to his speech, and his whole It was by these that we knew him best, and so esteemed him as our associate here in the patriotism of our historical studies.

We would place upon our records this expression of our regret in parting with him, and our memory of him for all that he was.

## Mr. John C. Ropes, being called on, said: -

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN, - It is not easy for me - it would not be easy, I imagine, for many of us here - to speak of our good friend General Devens in the way in which the world at large would expect that we should speak of him. He was eminently a public man, - for nearly all his life he was in the public service, and for far the greater part of his mature life he occupied posts of high honor and trust; and all these positions he filled faithfully and with distinction. Yet we do not think of him, now that he has gone, so much as an eminent and honored servant of the State, but rather as a friend, a loyal, warm-hearted, cordial, unvarying, unaffected friend and neigh-For such he was, first and foremost. His heart was warm; his character sound and sweet; his feelings quick and spontaneous; his behavior modest, while full of real dignity; his whole attitude to other men genuinely kind and considerate, free from every description of pride, vanity, or affectation. No more companionable man ever lived. No man so much in the world was ever less worldly than he. The native kindliness and sincerity of his nature withstood all the temptations of high office and of public life. He was always the same to his friends; and many, very many, who perhaps never felt that they had a right to claim the tie of friendship with him, came sufficiently within the sphere of his influence to be profoundly impressed by his kindliness, his genuineness, and his nobility of soul.

In him the elements were indeed well mingled. Few men have left a more satisfactory impression behind them. Of distinguished presence, wearing the dignities of office with becoming grace, easily accessible, attractive to all men in manner and behavior, with oratorical powers rarely excelled, his outward presence and bearing impressed all with whom he came into contact. Then his life, his thoroughly manly life, in which, from first to last, his energies and his talents were devoted to the public service, in the course of which he unhesitatingly welcomed the opportunity of drawing his sword at his country's call,—what a varied and interesting series of pictures does not his life present? Few are the men of our time—busy, eventful, and active as our time has been—who have passed through a more marked career than General Devens passed through. Let us look at it for a few moments.

Born in 1820, graduated from Harvard in 1838, a country lawyer for a few years, he makes his first public appearance as United States Marshal at the time of the fugitive slave cases. No emergency could have tested the quality of a man more thoroughly than the emergency in which Marshal Devens, then scarcely over thirty years of age, found himself placed, when, as the civil officer of the United States Government here in Massachusetts, he was responsible for the custody and rendition of the fugitive, Sims. But he never hesitated; he never wavered. He did his duty as the officer of the law, and then he did his best to ransom the unfortunate victim of slavery.

A few years more, and the war came. Devens was among the very first to volunteer. He was in command of his regiment, the Fifteenth, in the first action in which Massachusetts was seriously interested, the unfortunate battle of Ball's Bluff. Perhaps you do not all of you know that he was struck by a musket-ball full in the chest; but, fortunately, the ball hit a metal-covered button, and glanced off without inflicting serious hurt. When we were driven off the field, Colonel Devens swam the Potomac to Harrison's Island.

At Fair Oaks, on the 31st of May, 1862, as a brigadiergeneral, commanding a brigade in Couch's division, he took a prominent part in the obstinate resistance which that able officer made to the overwhelming attack of the enemy upon the isolated Fourth Corps. Here he was wounded in the arm, and though he would not quit the field, he was disabled for several weeks thereafter. In this way it happened that he took no part in the Seven Days' Battles.

Couch's division, in Franklin's corps, did not arrive on the field of Antietam till that bloody fight was over. When it did arrive, it was for General Devens to learn of the terrible losses suffered by his old regiment, the Fifteenth Massachusetts, in the gallant but rash charge of Sedgwick's division, which brave old General Sumner led, regardless of the most ordinary precautions, into the enemy's woods. It was in this ill-advised manœuvre that our late associate, General Palfrey, received the wound which so sorely afflicted him through life.

At Fredericksburg, General Devens's brigade crossed at the lower crossing, and was not actively engaged.

At Chancellorsville, however, the fates were against him. He had recently been transferred to the Eleventh Corps, upon whose exposed right flank Stonewall Jackson hurled his powerful corps on the afternoon of Saturday, May 2, 1863, with such terrible effect. General Devens was in no way responsible for the disaster. He did all that a brave man could do to maintain a fight that was hopeless from the first. Wounded very painfully in the foot at the beginning of the action, he kept his horse, and for a full hour rode along the half-broken lines endeavoring to restore order. This wound prevented his being at Gettysburg.

We next find him commanding a division under Gen. W. F. Smith in the Eighteenth Corps at Bermuda Hundred. He took an active part in the bloody assault on the enemy's lines at Cold Harbor on the 3d of June, 1864. He was so lame from rheumatism that he could neither mount nor walk, and was carried about the field from place to place in a litter.

Lastly, we find him leading a division of the Twenty-fourth Corps into Richmond, the first division of the Union army that entered that stubbornly defended city.

And such a close of such a hazardous military career as General Devens had led, was surely most fortunate and happy.

He had sought no exemptions from danger and duty, he had stood in his lot, he had received the buffets of battle; but fate had been kind to him.

Then, after remaining in the army nearly a year, he returned to his home, and was called at once to the bench of the Superior Court. After a few years he was promoted to the Supreme Bench. Here he filled with great satisfaction the responsible duties of that important post.

But life had another change in store for him. President Hayes offered him a seat in his Cabinet; and after some little hesitation, Judge Devens accepted the offer, and became the Attorney-General of the United States. Few men have lived better suited to adorn and to enjoy Washington life than Judge Devens. His large knowledge of men and things, his unfailing good temper, his ready and unvarying courtesy, his excellent judgment, his common-sense, his eloquence, made him a very valued member of Mr. Hayes's Cabinet. And these four years undoubtedly enriched considerably his experience of the world. He must have enjoyed them greatly.

When the administration of President Hayes had finished its course, Judge Devens returned to Massachusetts, only to receive again a place on the bench of the Supreme Judicial Court. He was fortunate in this; for no other place could he have filled so well. I have not time to speak as I would like to do of his services on the bench. But we can never forget the serious and conscientious attention with which he discharged every duty and approached the consideration of every question, and the sound, sensible, and experienced judgment which he brought to bear on the matters that came before him. He was not a particularly learned judge, nor was he noted for the possession of any special qualification for the office; but he was an eminently useful judge, and a most conscientious, upright, and considerate magistrate.

Fortunate as our friend was in his life, he was, to my thinking, equally fortunate in the manner of his death. There was no long and gloomy sickness, — no pain, no suffering, no wasting away of the bodily powers, no wretched enfeeblement of the mind. All was peace and content and serenity, until in a moment, in the twinkling of an eye as it were, the summons came; and then, without an instant's delay, the good soldier obeyed.

It is not going too far to say that in one respect, certainly, General Devens's place in our community cannot be filled. He had been for many years the spokesman of the city and Commonwealth on certain public topics. He had long ranked as an orator next to our distinguished ex-President. Mr. Winthrop; and during the last few years circumstances had compelled him to assume a very large share of the duties which those men who are so happily constituted that they can understand and sympathize with the best thought of the community. and can also give to that thought utterance and expression in forcible and attractive speech, must always undertake. Hence General Devens was very often called upon, sometimes to commemorate the anniversaries of the Revolution, sometimes to eulogize the heroes of our recent struggle. His address on the centennial of the battle of Bunker Hill, and his oration at Worcester on General Grant, are perhaps the finest of those But his opening lecture in the Lowell Institute Course of Lectures on the Civil War, a few years ago, and his oration last April before the Military Order of the Loyal Legion, recur to my mind as striking and masterly perform-His eloquence had the true ring in it. While he disdained none of the graces of oratory, - and he knew them all, - he delighted in plain, direct, and cogent arguments and in earnest, simple, and elevated reflections. He never soared above his audience; but he always carried them along with him to a higher plane than that whereon they stood when he began to speak. Many of these addresses were to small and select gatherings; many were informal; many were on subjects connected with the late war, on which he could speak as one who knew the actors and events and as one who had played a prominent part. Whatever the occasion, General Devens invariably rose to the full height of it; he was always serious, earnest, and strong, and he was always felicitous. No audience ever wearied of hearing him. fine presence, his singularly harmonious voice, his graceful carriage, his mastery of the subject and the occasion, secured for him not only the welcome, but also the undivided attention and appreciation of the people. In these respects we have no one who can at all fill his place; for we have no one left who has for so many years served the public in so many capacities, and who, possessing as he did the undiminished confidence of the community, is so well fitted to be its exponent — to interpret its sentiments and express its emotions — on the various occasions when a public utterance of some sort is imperatively demanded.

In respect to no man in our day has the feeling of regret for his loss been more sincere or more universal. No man in our time also has been more thoroughly understood and appreciated. In this connection it is interesting, and also, as I venture to think, instructive, to remember that Judge Devens was no professional reformer or philanthropist. We are, I think, too apt in this community, where so many practical and unpractical reforms, so many wise and foolish innovations, so many endeavors to cure our own disorders, and so many denunciations of the evil practices of other countries, have had their origin and their term, longer or shorter, of existence, to undervalue the man whose life has simply consisted in the faithful and honorable performance, first, of the duties which belong to all good citizens, and, secondly, of those tasks which the public has specially laid upon him. But to have well performed these tasks and duties is, after all, to have fulfilled the principal duties and the principal tasks outside of one's private and personal life. It is an error to suppose that only those who devote themselves ostensibly to the work of reforming their own and other countries "leave the world better than they found it." They, also, whose private lives are above reproach, and whose public work has been thoroughly, honestly, and patriotically done, are certainly entitled to this praise. Such men as our late associate equally advance the good cause, equally promote the welfare of their country and of the race, because they give their strength, their talents, and their lives to the public service.

Mr. Ropes was followed by Mr. HENRY LEE, who said: -

I have a word or two to say about Charles Devens, with whom I have stood in friendly, familiar relations ever since my college days, when I was invited occasionally to his father's house in Cambridge.

I have been wont to speak of him as

"Sweet Fortune's minion and her pride";

and when one recounts the series of high positions, civil and military, to which he has been preferred, with never a break,

from his earliest manhood to the day of his death, my speech seems justified.

Scarcely was he out of college and had begun his law practice in Franklin County than he was elected Brigadier-General of Militia; soon afterward he was chosen State Senator.

He could not have been over thirty years old when he was made United States Marshal for the district of Massachusetts.

In the war, starting out as Major, he became successively Colonel, Brigadier, then Brevet-Major, General of Volunteers, Military Governor of South Carolina. Returned home, he was appointed Judge of the Superior, then of the Supreme, Court; then taken by President Hayes as his Attorney-General, and at the close of his administration instantly reappointed Judge of the Supreme Court.

This opportune vacancy on the bench at the very moment his time as United States Attorney-General ended, did prompt me to remark to his kinsman, that Cousin Charles came down always upon his feet; and he agreed with me.

His early promotion over his fellows of equal worth and talents is to be ascribed to his personal attributes, — his stature, his bright eyes, his mellifluous voice, his flowing speech, his genial and dignified deportment, which distinguished him in all companies, but more especially upon the small stage on which he made his début. While his general symmetry and suavity helped him in certain directions and to a certain extent, it disparaged him with the fastidious and sceptical.

The world is impatient and incredulous of perfection; the "totus, teres atque rotundus" fades in the eye, and provokes criticism rather than admiration.

A mezzotint makes one long for the biting-in of the etching. Pope's Homer is so smooth that sense is lost in sound; and so with persons. Dr. Channing's soft speech stung at least one sensitive person to profanity. General Washington, as handed down by pen and pencil, was too smooth, too perfect; it was only the revelation of his outburst of wrath at Monmouth, and of laughter over Old Put, that justified him to his countrymen. Our friend suffered in like manner; his symmetry and suavity brought him under suspicion, caused him to be underrated intellectually and morally.

But it was no padding, no veneering. If ever a man could be a hero to his valet, General Devens might have been that man. The nearer one came to him, the higher he stood in one's regard. It was his thorough amiability joined to his conscientious discharge of every duty assumed, which won for him the love and respect of those about him, and secured for him the unbroken continuance of promotion first hazarded upon his extrinsic recommendations.

Although as marshal he rendered up the slave under the cruel fugitive slave law, as a man he sought earnestly to purchase his freedom; when the war, that touchstone of character which converted lambs to lions and some lions to lambs, broke out, and the State was called upon for aid, the "suaviter in modo" was found to be combined in our friend with the "fortiter in re." He went at an hour's notice, and served faithfully and ably, in spite of repeated wounds, through all those haggard years, and for a year afterward as Military Governor of South Carolina. When peace returned, he held the sword of justice as firmly as a ruder, blunter man.

I sometimes rallied him upon his smooth and kindly relations with men whom I felt inclined to denounce; but I became convinced that this uniform courtesy and lenity credited his heart, while it did not discredit his head: it was Christian charity.

My old friend would not stand so high in my regard but for the unique exhibition of one memorable day when he had been invited to deliver the oration. Summoned betimes in the morning, and carted about over an endless route for six or seven hours; then, after tedious marshalling, forced to listen to successive and inordinate speeches by committee-men, Grand Master of Masons, Mayor, everybody but the selected speaker, the sun went down, and darkness fell before the orator of the day was allowed to hold forth. For once even his patience was exhausted; he gave a few extracts from his oration by torchlight, and withdrew. I was refreshed by his undisguised righteous indignation at this preposterous, egotistic disregard of proportions.

As to eloquence, how many better orations have been given than his on the centennial of the battle of Bunker Hill, on the dedication of the Soldiers' Monument, on Grant, spoken at Gettysburg, not to mention his speech at the Harvard Commemoration as spokesman of the returned volunteers, his annual addresses while President of the Bunker Hill Monument Association, his series of speeches at the Jubilee of Harvard College?

Upon that occasion he exercised his habit of infinite painstaking; no other alumnus would have performed the task of presiding officer so perfectly.

A tender devotion and constancy characterized his domestic relations. A home of his own in the fullest sense of the word he never had; his father's home was broken up upon the death of his mother and sister, when he was a young lawyer in Greenfield, — a bereavement the more poignant that they lost their lives in preserving his. His father lived to a great age, and I can bear witness to the son's filial piety; the love which husbands and fathers lavish upon their wives and children, he shed upon the scattered groups of relatives, — a love ardently reciprocated.

This tenderness of heart extended beyond his family circle. Breakfasting with him during the Grand Army Encampment last summer, he confessed that the sight of these veterans brought back so feelingly the setting forth for the war, that his tears would flow.

In familiar intercourse he was genial and entertaining. A kindly humor enlivened his chat; he told a story with the art of an old campaigner.

A few words spoken by me elsewhere apply to him here:

- "He has been one of our most faithful members; his stately and benign presence graced our meetings."
- "Here, as elsewhere, he diffused a spirit of chivalric courtesy by his dignified and cordial greetings, his temperate and kindly discourse."
- "To the respect inspired by his honorable public service in peace and war was added the affection begotten of his unswerving loyalty to his friends, and his solicitous consideration of all, young and old, far and near."

When I heard of his death, there came to me the sense of the loss of a friend, and of the glory of a well-spent life.

Mr. Ropes was then appointed to write a memoir of Judge Devens, for publication in a future volume of the Proceedings.

The President then paid the following tribute to the late George Bancroft, whose name had long stood at the head of the list of Corresponding Members:—

For reasons the force of which we all recognize, we take our appropriate part with so many other societies and individuals in paying our tribute to the late George Bancroft, so distinguished in his career of fourscore and ten years in civil and political life, and as the foremost among the historians of our country. While a citizen of Northampton, he was elected a Resident Member of this Society, in June, 1834. By his removal from this State to New York, he ceased to be such in December, 1849. In February of the next year he was put on our Honorary list, at the head of which he has remained. Our records show that before his election here he had been earnestly interested in our work, and had used and contributed to our resources. He regularly attended our meetings during his residence, and made good use of our collections for his historical work.

Allow me, in what I shall say, to speak of him somewhat personally, with regard and respect, recalling long-past years of intimate relations. In my latest intercourse with him in his advanced age, he said more than once that we two had probably known each other in the form of our acquaintance longer than any other two of our friends. In my early boyhood he was my teacher in studies preparatory for college. recall that he then put me to service in reading his manuscript as he corrected the proof-sheets of his first book, a translation from the German of Heeren's "Politics of Ancient Greece." He was then a somewhat dreamy, absent-minded scholar, impulsive and effusive in his manifestations, as, indeed, he continued to be through life. I saw much of him in his summers at Newport, the last interview being a month before he completed his ninetieth year. His step even then was elastic and vigorous, and he was genial and cheery in speech. But his memory was broken to the degree that he asked me twice within the hour how old he was. His reminiscences of his earliest years were bright. He spoke of his father, the family of thirteen children and their surroundings, - living on a salary of five hundred dollars and a farm in the then country town of Worcester. His father, an able and venerated minister, whose long life was but six years short of that of his distinguished son, broke in upon his course of study at Harvard to take part in the patriotism at Lexington and Bunker Hill. His ministry of fifty-three years was to a society made

up of many distinguished men in public life. Dr. Bancroft was a warm admirer and early biographer of Washington. He had many perplexities to meet; but as an earnest Federalist. not the least of them was that his distinguished son, before he had reached the age of thirty, was a Democratic writer, orator, and politician, and a fervent one of the sort. That son's course of life as such, with its occupations, honors, offices, and public services, has been abundantly traced by an industrious press. Perhaps I may date, by a personal memory, the starting-point of his official life. Happening to be in Washington in 1837, and meeting Mr. Bancroft, we attended at the White House a reception of Indian chiefs by President Van Buren. report was that on that visit he informed the President that he was engaged in writing our history from a Democratic point of view. So he received the appointment of Collector of the Port of Boston, the duties of which, strange and inapt to him, he faithfully discharged. But his zeal and ardor and high enthusiasm were engaged in his historical task. Let me give a personal illustration of this.

On sailing for Europe in the spring of 1838, I had committed to my care a few copies of Mr. Prescott's "Ferdinand and Isabella," then just published, and of the first two volumes of Mr. Bancroft's history. These were for Lord Brougham, Sydney Smith, Mr. Hallam, and others. Besides the office of hunting up and sending to Mr. Bancroft many books which he desired, he earnestly and persistently pressed on me a service which I found very embarrassing, and could discharge but imperfectly. This was to make for him laborious researches in public offices, and to take copies of important documents and papers needed by him for his history. He plied me with urgent letters in this behalf. I had but a year for the whole of Europe, and he would have had me give months to that work in dismal offices. Those State papers were not then, as now, gathered in one large repository and arranged and calendared, but were scattered in various deposits. I did some such work on reaching London, and recall how I grudged the musty task, with youthful blood and energy and the sights of London inviting me at the time of the Coronation. It was wholly a labor of love on my part for my early instructor, without remuneration. copy a part of one of Mr. Bancroft's urgent letters wishing to get me at work again, on returning to London from the Continent. I cite this letter for two reason,—first to show the zeal of the writer, and also as suggesting by contrast how far Mr. Bancroft then was from anticipating what splendid opportunities he was a few years afterward to enjoy in England and on the Continent, in his diplomatic offices.

Boston, Feb. 21, 1839.

MY DEAR ELLIS, — As the time draws near for your return to England, my anxiety increases in relation to the search which I trust you will make into the records in London. Remain there two or three months; make a vigorous onset. I will cheerfully defray the expense of your stay, if you will give your time to this subject. The investigation will interest and delight you, and will remain an agreeable source of reminiscences. You will confer a favor on the country by consulting the sources of its history. You will confer on me the greatest obligation.

The period of history to which inquiry should be directed is from 1688 to 1765, and especially to Virginia and the Southern States. Make little extracts and abstracts; but above all mark the document and the date.

John Locke, you know, was Secretary in the Plantation Office; do see if in any way we can connect his name with our history further than it has already been done in the histories of Carolina.

Particularly it is important to watch the dawnings of a republican spirit, as the evidence of its existence opened upon the English.

Nothing curious can come amiss. You are versed in these matters, and will know what to select. I have therefore most earnestly to urge upon you the office of investigating these records. Let us get at the truth,—and do you aid me in it.

I cannot disguise my strong reliance upon you in this matter. Stay there in London. Let the expense be mine. I will cheerfully bear it. Stay by all means, and do this thoroughly.

I wish you could get Aspinwall to arrange with some English publisher for publishing my work when the third volume appears,— Colburn, or the one who published for Prescott. Talk, if you get a chance, with Forster about it. Remember the English offices. Go deep into them. Delay your return home. Spend two months at the work. Depend upon it you will do well to do so, for your country, for your own reputation, for your friend George Bancroft. If I could use any new term of entreaty, I would do so. But I rely on you fully. Let me not be disappointed. The disappointment would be serious. . . .

I should add to this letter that when I came home, followed by many cases of choice books, Mr. Bancroft being then the

Collector of the Port, his and mine were free of duty, on my taking, at his prompting, the oath that the contents were only personal effects and tools of my trade.

Of the estimate and repute of Democracy in Boston at that time - especially of Mr. Bancroft's form and tone of it, and as held by those who would have been his natural social and scholarly intimates - I have nothing to say. The elders here will remember the social and professional alienations and the political animosities which led him to change his residence to New York. Some grudges were long retained. His accession to the Cabinet of Mr. Polk as Secretary of the Navy was a matter of amusement to his acquaintances, as seemingly incongruous for a dreamy man of books, who, it was jocosely said, did not know the bow from the stern of a ship. But the ships did not trouble him as did their commanders and officers, in their jealousies and rivalries for place and station. way was through piques and embarrassments of promises and professions. His efficient and now applauded service in that office was in the creation and support of the Naval Academy at Annapolis.

But we must look back in his career to find the key to it. He once told me that he had never received a farthing by inheritance through his whole life. With the repute of precocious scholarship he went, in his eleventh year, to Exeter Academy as a beneficiary pupil. He afterward gratefully acknowledged his obligation by founding a scholarship in the academy for others to be favored as he had been. A like office of love he performed for Harvard, putting his gift in the name of the benignant Kirkland, so endeared to all his pupils. And yet another endowment was made by him for promising scholars in the public schools of his native town. He earned his own livelihood. He had, as he deserved, the repute of thrift and sagacity in investing in property. He told me that of his estate in Newport, originally fronting on the avenue and running a long depth to the cliffs, he profited enough by the sale of the front part, which he did not wish to keep, to pay for his fair house, outbuildings, lawn, flower and vegetable gardens, leaving a balance in hand.

It was the deciding event for him that on graduating, at the age of seventeen, by the suggestion and with the patronage of Edward Everett and other college friends, he went abroad for

diligent study in Germany, and travel in Europe, to fit himself as a teacher and professor. But this was not to be long his sphere. He made scholarly acquisitions, won high honors, was intimate with gifted men; but best of all, he thoroughly mastered the German language and German literature, retaining them for life, so that when he went to Germany as our minister, he had advantages and privileges such as have rarely been reached by our diplomats abroad. His preceding English mission was also honored by like distinctions. These missions followed the previous tentative experiences as a Democratic politician. But of one bent and passion which possessed him as an ardent young scholar in Germany, there have been differences of judgment.

In view of the remarkable and lengthened career of Mr. Bancroft, its labors, honors, and accomplishments, perhaps others may have shared with me the regret that the incidents, method, and occupations of his life could not have been reversed, so that his close and sharp contact with men and practical public affairs might have engaged the earlier years, leaving the calm maturity of his mind and experience, as with Hume, Gibbon, and Macaulay, for the composition of history. It is true that the forty years covering the vigor of his life elapsed between the publication in 1834 of the first volume of his history and that of the tenth in 1874, and that for much in the interval he had a rarely favorable converse with men. Yet it is also true that the ideal conception of the scheme. the method and the aim of his proposed work, of what history should be, how it should be constructed, took possession of him before he had really entered on his manhood, and while he was a student in Germany. His youth and his surroundings, his models, examples, and teachers, introduced into the warp and woof of the earliest volumes of his history elements and qualities, and we may say idiosyncrasies, which characterize it to its close. Hegel said that the Germans, instead of writing history, were always beating their brains to discover how history ought to be written. Mr. Bancroft, in his essay on "The Progress of Mankind," had affirmed that the poet had a nobler office than the historian. It is not strange, therefore, that he sometimes jealously trespassed on the higher province of the poet. His high-flown rhetoric, his discursive ranging, his philosophical disquisitions burdened his pages. Instead of

leaving history to yield philosophy to his readers, he sought to insinuate philosophy into his narrations. Scholar, and to a degree philosopher, as he was, it took him time to learn that only the simplest terms of expression fit the highest and deepest thoughts, the gravest themes, and the most signal events. Some, doubtless many, persons read the first, perhaps the first two, volumes of his history in its earliest form, but, overborne by the exuberance and redundancy of its composition, went no further with it. As early as 1841, when but two volumes had appeared, Mr. Bancroft was induced by his publishers to reduce and simplify their contents by abridgment for a large class of readers. I have heard, I know not how true it may be, that this abridgment was made by one of his three accomplished sisters engaged in teaching in Worcester; but his name alone is on the titlepage.

Of course his work has received a large share not only of approval and praise, but also of sharp and censorious criticism, alike for its method and style, and for its pronounced judgments on events and persons. By two successive recastings, reconstructions, revisions, and condensations of his ten volumes, Mr. Bancroft has sought to heed what he considered pertinent I have a substantial volume in these strictures and criticisms. of pamphlets in which grandsons and representatives of eminent men, generals and others, challenged and disputed his judgment of them. In the prefaces to both of his condensations of his work, - that of 1876 and that of 1882, - using in each fuller new materials, he says, with a degree of candor not satisfactory to all, that he has given due and fair regard to all critical matters, and still stands for his own views where others may be at variance with him.

## The Hon. ROBERT C. WINTHROP then rose and said, —

It has rarely happened, Mr. President, to this Society, or indeed to any other society, to lose from the roll of its living members, in such close succession, three names so distinguished in their different spheres as those of Dr. Henry M. Dexter, Gen. Charles Devens, and George Bancroft. I can add but little to the just tributes which have already been paid to them, here and elsewhere, on this and other occasions. I should be sorry, however, to have seemed insensible to such

losses, even though the few words I may say of them may be, or may appear to be, superfluous.

Of Dr. Dexter I can say, without qualification or fear of dispute, that his loss to our historical work is the greatest we have met with since the death of Dr. Deane. Neither of them, I think, has left his peer in our ranks, or in any other ranks, for the devoted and untiring study, and for the clear and able exposition, of some of the most interesting and important events and characters of our earliest New England history. I valued Dr. Dexter, too, as a personal friend, to whom I owed not a few most kind recognitions, and whose complimentary dedication of his memorable volume on Roger Williams I should be ungrateful to forget.

Of Charles Devens I can hardly speak too warmly. He was a man who seemed to find the precise place for which he was peculiarly fitted in each one of the varied public offices which he successively filled. One might say that he was born to be a general, or that he was born to be a judge, or that he was born to be an orator. He was plainly born for all, and was eminent in all. But he was born also for good fellowship, and for the kindest and most agreeable association and intercourse with his fellowmen. His friendship was coveted and prized by all who knew him, and he had no enemies. Recently elected one of the Peabody Education Trustees, on the resignation of our sadly disabled and greatly esteemed associate, Col. Theodore Lyman, he had already so far commended himself to the regard and respect of those most deeply interested in that Trust as to be invited to deliver an address in South Carolina. I was the medium of that invitation a few weeks only before his death; and his note to me, one of the last which he could have written to any one, expressed his high appreciation of so unexpected a compliment, and his regret at being compelled to decline it. He will be missed in our board, in this Society, and in social life everywhere.

Of George Bancroft I can hardly confine myself to so brief a notice. That long, long life of ninety years and three months presents most widely varied aspects to one who attempts to review it in detail. You, Mr. President, who had known him longer than any of us, have just described it with your uniform felicity and fulness. He played many parts, and made his mark in them all. I knew him first as a politician, and sometimes found occasion to arraign the radicalism of his early days. I knew him next as Secretary of the Navy, while I was in Congress, when he won the enviable distinction of founding the Naval Academy at Annapolis. I knew him soon afterward as our American Minister to England, during my first visit to London in 1847, where I experienced much personal kindness from him and his amiable wife, and was in the way of observing the distinguished position which he held in English literary circles. My letters from Webster and Everett had given me access to all that was highest and best in the London life of that period; but I met him everywhere, and witnessed the high estimation in which he was held by literary men like Rogers and Hallam and Alison and Milman and Lord Mahon, and by statesmen like Peel, Palmerston, and Russell.

More recently he has been our Minister to Germany, where he was successful in some very interesting and important negotiations, and where he won the special regard and confidence of the noble old Emperor William, who presented to him a fine portrait of himself, and whose gallant grandson, the present Emperor, caused an imperial wreath to be laid on his coffin. Meanwhile, throughout the whole period in which he was engaged in these public duties, at home and abroad, and in all the years which intervened or succeeded them, Mr. Bancroft was primarily and peculiarly an historian; and unlike so many of our scholars who have made history their pursuit, he took his own country exclusively for his theme. Much as we may admire and honor those of our literary men who have earned wide and just celebrity by their brilliant descriptions of memorable events or characters of other ages and other lands, I think we owe a special debt of gratitude to those who have devoted their time and talents to describing and illustrating the rise and progress of our own great Republic.

You have well said, Mr. President, that Bancroft was fore-most as the historian of the United States. His great work, in all its varied editions, will always be read and recognized as the leading authority in American history for the period which it includes. His style may be criticised and censured as redundant or rhetorical. His philosophy may be discarded as partaking occasionally of that German mysticism which he imbibed in his youth. A vein of partisanship, too, may some-

times be detected amid all his professions of impartiality. It could hardly be otherwise. No one in writing history, or in doing anything else, can escape from himself; or can wholly conceal, even should he try to do so, his own preconceived opinions, his own individual peculiarities and idiosyncrasies. Gibbon could not restrain his infidel speculations and theories. Hume yielded recklessly to his passion for the old Stuart dynasties. Macaulay was often overmastered by his own splendid rhetoric and brilliant illustration. If we do not quite accept the old French maxim that the style is the man, we must admit that the man can hardly fail to expose himself in the style. The judicial moderation and calm self-repression of Henry Hallam and John Richard Green and our own Prescott, to name no others, were in the men before they were manifested in their pages.

Bancroft, as I have said, in early life was a radical. had a deep tinge of mingled poetry and philosophy. temperament was singularly nervous, impulsive, and sometimes almost spasmodic. All these elements were betrayed in his early productions and editions. But with them all, and above them all, his love of country and his devotion to the history of his country were abundantly displayed; and he was never wearied in searching for the authentic materials out of which that history must be composed. He gave proof from the first that he regarded history as no mere sensational narrative of incidents or dry-as-dust compend of traditions, caught up at second-hand or at random, and arranged to sustain a preconceived theory or a favorite view. He fully realized that any thing worthy of the name of history could only be founded on impartial research and on a diligent sifting of original records. He sought those records everywhere, at home and abroad, and studied and compared them with untiring labor. I think, from all I have heard, and from much that I have personally known, that no man ever labored harder to get at the truth, as to the events or the men whom he described, than George Bancroft. Nor can I hesitate to avow my conviction, however he may have sometimes erred, that the truth of history was uppermost in his aims and efforts from first to last.

I know not whether he had ever seen that striking letter of old John Adams to our founder, Dr. Jeremy Belknap, in 1789, which is contained in the new centennial volume of our Col-

lections, just laid on our table. "My experience," wrote John Adams, "has very much diminished my faith in the veracity of history; it has convinced me that many of the most important facts are concealed; some of the most important characters but imperfectly known; many false facts imposed on historians and the world, and many empty characters displayed in great pomp. All this, I am sure, will happen in our American history."

It was a wholesome warning, and may have stimulated the earnest efforts of Dr. Belknap to establish our Society in the following year. But nearly half a century elapsed before Bancroft, impressed with the same ideas, incorporated them substantially into the preface to his first volume, and claimed credit for "the sincerity with which he had sought to collect truth from trustworthy documents and testimony." To that credit he is richly entitled, and American History owes him a debt of respect and gratitude which can hardly be exaggerated.

Of Bancroft's later years a single reminiscence must suffice. Year by year I saw him in the early spring at Washington and in the summer or autumn at Newport, and many a charming drive or walk I had with him and many a delightful dinner at his table. While I was at Washington last May he was very ill, and for many days his life was despaired of. But the very morning before I was to return home I received a kind message that he would like to see me for a single moment. I was admitted to his bedroom, where he was lying in a state of entire prostration. He raised himself with an effort to take my hand, and exclaimed: "Oh, Winthrop, how long it seems since you and I were playing together as boys at Cambridge." He had mistaken me for my brother, who had been a classmate and a successful competitor of his at Harvard, in the class of 1817, and who died of consumption in 1819. mind was wandering back to his college days, and to those with whom he had been associated in the very distinguished class of which he was the only survivor. I did not let him know that I perceived his mistake, but after an affectionate exchange of good wishes, bade him what proved to be a last farewell. I did not leave his room, however, without a bunch of the beautiful roses which he kept always blooming for his friends. He prided himself on his roses hardly less than on his history.

Mr. Charles C. Smith communicated from the papers of the late Charles Deane copies of the Spanish and Latin inscriptions on Cabot's mappe-monde, now in the National Library at Paris, together with a translation of them into English, and spoke in substance as follows:—

At the meeting of this Society, in October, 1882, our lamented associate, Mr. Charles Deane, placed on the table as a gift from the Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, who was then in Europe, a photographic copy of the map known as Cabot's mappe-monde, preserved in the National Library in Paris.1 The brief account of the map and its inscriptions which Mr. Deane gave excited much interest; and the whole subject was referred to a committee consisting of Mr. Deane, Mr. Winsor, and that accomplished scholar, the late George Dexter, who died in December, 1883. It was known that the chairman had already begun a careful study of the internal and external evidence as to the authenticity of the map; and shortly after his appointment he caused the inscriptions to be translated, at his own expense, by Mr. George Bendelari, at that time Adjunct Professor of Modern Languages in Yale College. He also carried on an extensive correspondence with M. C. Letort, of the National Library, in Paris; Mr. J. F. Nicholls, of the Free Library, Bristol, England; our Corresponding Members, the late J. Carson Brevoort, of Brooklyn, Long Island, and Prof. Franklin B. Dexter, of Yale College; and with other gentlemen who were specialists on one or another of the questions which he had under consideration. During his last sickness, and in anticipation of the fatal result, he directed these papers to be sent to me, and expressed a strong desire to see me immediately on my return from Europe. Unfortunately, when I reached home he was too weak to see

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Thirteen copies of the map were made. Of these two were retained by the National Library. The other eleven copies were disposed of as follows: to the Massachusetts Historical Society; the American Antiquarian Society; the Boston Athenæum; the Boston Public Library; Harvard University Library; the New York Historical Society; the Virginia Historical Society; the Library Company of Philadelphia; the Long Island Historical Society; Judge Charles P. Daly, for the American Geographical Society; and Gen. John Marshall Brown, of Portland, Maine. The map measures about four feet on the sides, and about six feet at the top and bottom. It has been but little injured; and on the original the figures of the men and animals are colored.

any one. He died a few weeks afterward; and I now know only in general what were his wishes in the matter. In accordance with those wishes, copies of the Spanish and Latin legends on the Cabot map, and the translation made for Mr. Deane, are herewith communicated for the Proceedings.

Our learned associate had long been familiar with the history and character of the map, and in 1866 he examined the original, and gave a short account of it at the meeting of the American Antiquarian Society in October of that year.1 But there are no memoranda among his papers to show what would have been the form and substance of the report which he intended to make to this Society. We cannot, however, be in any doubt as to his views. They are clearly and admirably set forth in his chapter on "The Voyages of the Cabots," in the third volume of "The Narrative and Critical History of America": and an extract from the "Critical Essay on the Sources of Information" in that chapter will lessen our regret that Mr. Deane did not draw up the formal report which he intended to prepare. The proof-sheets of that chapter were sent to Mr. Brevoort, who in returning them wrote to Mr. Deane, under date of May 31, 1882: "I sent you all the Cabot proofs on Monday, having read much of it several times over. Your work is very impartial and comprehensive, and you have collected all that is known about this very reticent explorer without setting up any theory of your own on particular dates or facts. The Domestic Papers of Henry VII. when printed may develop some new matter, and some Cabot map may turn up; but all we know now is in your collection of materials. The map with its legends must remain a puzzle that may be cleared up." Mr. Brevoort might have expressed himself even more strongly as to the thoroughness and exactness of Mr. Deane's work without risk of exaggeration.

In the Essay to which I have referred Mr. Deane writes:

"I now come to a map of Sebastian Cabot, bearing date 1544, as the year of its composition, a copy of which was discovered in Germany in 1843, by Von Martius, in the house of a Bavarian curate, and deposited in the following year in the National Library in Paris. It has been described at some length by M. D'Avezac, in the Bulletin de la Société de

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> See Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society, Oct. 20, 1866, pp. 12-14; and also Proceedings of the same Society, April 24, 1867, pp. 43-50.

Géographie, 4 ser. xiv, 268-270, 1857. It is a large, elliptical mappe monde, engraved on metal, with geographical delineations drawn upon it down to the time it was made. I saw the map in Paris in 1866. On its two sides are two tables: the first, on the left, inscribed at the head 'Tabula Prima'; and that on the right, 'Tabula Secunda.' On these tables are seventeen legends, or inscriptions, in duplicate; that is to say, in Spanish and in Latin, the latter supposed to be a translation of the former, — each Latin legend immediately following the Spanish original, and bearing the same number.

"After the seventeen legends in Spanish and in Latin, we come to a title or heading: 'Plinio en el secund libro capitulo lxxix., escriue' ('Pliny, in the second book, chapter 79, writes'). Then follows an inscription in Spanish, No. 18, from Pliny's Natural History, cap. lxvii., the chapter given above being an error. Four brief inscriptions, also in Spanish, numbered 19 to 22, relating to the natural productions of islands in the eastern seas, taken from other authors, complete the list. So there are twenty-two Spanish inscriptions or legends on the map, — ten on the first table and twelve on the second, — the last five of which have no Latin exemplaires; and there are no Latin inscriptions without the same text in Spanish immediately preceding.

"There are no headings prefixed to the inscriptions, except the 1st, the 17th, and 18th. The first inscription, relating to the discovery of the New World by Columbus, has this title, beneath Tabula Prima: 'del almirante.' The 17th—a long inscription—has this title: 'Retulo, del auctor conciertas razones de la variaçion que haze il aguia del marear con la estrella del Norte' ('A discourse of the author of the map, giving certain reasons for the variation of the magnetic needle in reference to the North Star'). It is also repeated in Latin over the version of the inscription in that language. The title to the 18th inscription, if it may be called a title, has already been given.

"The 17th inscription begins as follows: 'Sebastian Caboto, capitan y piloto mayor de la S. c. c. m. del Imperador don Carlos quinto deste nombre, y Rey nuestro sennor hizo este figura extenda en plano, anno del nascimo de nro Salvador Iesu Christo de MDXLIIII annos, tirada por grados de latitud y longitud con sus vientos como carta de marear, imitando en parte al Ptolomeo, y en parte alos modernos descobridores, asi Espanoles como Portugueses, y parte por su padre, y por el descubierto, por donde, podras navegar como por carta de marear, teniendo respecto a luariaçion que haze el aguia,' etc. ('Sebastian Cabot, captain and pilot-major of his sacred imperial majesty, the emperor Don Carlos, the fifth of this name, and the king our lord, made this figure extended on a plane surface, in the year of the birth of our Saviour Jesus Christ, 1544, having drawn it by degrees of latitude and longitude, with the winds, as a sailing chart, following partly Ptol-

emy and partly the modern discoveries, Spanish and Portuguese, and partly the discovery made by his father and himself: by it you may sail as by a sea-chart, having regard to the variation of the needle, etc.). Then follows a discussion relating to the variation of the magnetic needle, which Cabot claims first to have noticed.

"In the inscription, No. 8, which treats of Newfoundland, it says: 'This country was discovered by John Cabot, a Venetian, and Sebastian Cabot, his son, in the year of our Lord Jesus Christ, MCCCCXCIV. [1494] on the 24th of June, in the morning, which country they called "primum visam"; and a large island adjacent to it they named the island of St. John, because they discovered it on the same day.'

"A fac-simile of this map was published in Paris by M. Jomard, in Plate XX. of his Monuments de la Géographie (begun in 1842, and issued during several years following, down to 1862), but without the legends on its sides, which unquestionably belong to the map itself; for those which, on account of their length, are not included within the interior of the map, are attached to it by proper references. M. Jomard promised a separate volume of 'texte explicatif,' but death prevented the accomplishment of his purpose.

"If this map, with the date of its composition, is authentic, it is the first time the name of John Cabot has been introduced to our notice in any printed document, in connection with the discovery of North America. Here the name is brought in jointly with that of Sebastian Cabot, on the authority apparently of Sebastian himself. He is said to be the maker of the map, and if he did not write the legends on its sides he may be supposed not to have been ignorant of their having been placed As to Legend No. 8, copied above, who but Sebastian Cabot would know the facts embodied in it, - namely, that the discovery was made by both the father and the son, on the 24th of June, about five o'clock in the morning; that the land was called prima vista, or its equivalent, and that the island near by was called St. John, as the discovery was made on St. John's Day. Whether or not Sebastian Cabot's statement is to be implicitly relied on, in associating his own name with his father's in the voyage of discovery, in view of the evidence which has recently come to light, the legend itself must have proceeded from Some additional information in the latter part of the inscription, relating to the native inhabitants, and the productions of the country, may have been gathered in the voyage of the following year. tian Cabot, without doubt, was in possession of his father's maps, on which would be inscribed by John Cabot himself the day on which the discovery was made.

"Whatever opinions, therefore, historical scholars may entertain as to Sebastian Cabot's connection with this map in its present form, or with the inscriptions upon it as a whole, all must admit that the state-

ments embodied in No. 8, and, it may be added, in No. 17, could have been communicated by no one but Sebastian Cabot himself. The only alternative is that they are a base fabrication by a stranger. Moreover, this very map itself, or a map with these legends upon it, as we shall see farther on, was in the possession of Richard Eden, or was accessible to him; and one of its long inscriptions was translated into English, and printed in his Decades, in 1555, as from 'Cabot's own card,'—and this at a time when Cabot was living in London, and apparently on terms of intimacy with Eden. Legend No. 8 contains an important statement which is confirmed by evidence recently come to light, namely, the fact of John Cabot's agency in the discovery of North America; and although the name of the son is here associated with the father, it is a positive relief to find an acknowledgment from Sebastian himself of a truth that was to receive, before the close of the century, important support from the publication of the Letters Patent from the archives of the State. should serve to modify our estimate of the authenticity of reports purporting to come from Sebastian, in which the father is wholly ignored, and the son alone is represented as the hero. The long inscription, No. 17, contains an honorable mention of his father, as we have already seen; and in the Latin duplicate, the language in the passage which I have given in English will be seen to be even more emphatic than is expressed in the Spanish text. Indeed, in several instances in the Latin, though generally following the Spanish, so far as I have had an opportunity of observing, there are some statements of fact not to be found in the The passage already cited concludes thus in the Latin: 'And also from the experience and practice of long sea-service of the most excellent John Cabot, a Venetian by nation, and of my author [the map is here made to speak for itself], Sebastian his son, the most learned of all men in knowledge of the stars and the art of navigation. who have discovered a certain part of the globe for a long time hidden from our people.'

"Though we are not quite willing to believe that Sebastian Cabot wrote the eulogy of himself contained in this passage, yet who but he could have known of those facts concerning his father, who, we suppose, had been dead some fifty years before this map was composed?

"The map itself, as a work of Sebastian Cabot, is unsatisfactory, and many of the legends on its sides are also unworthy of its alleged author. It brought forward for the first time, in Legend 8, the year 1494 as the year of the discovery of North America, which the late M. D'Avezac accepted, but which I cannot but think, from undoubted evidence, to be adduced farther on, is wrong. The 'terram primum visam' of the legend is inscribed on the northern part of Cape Breton, and there would seem to be no good reason for not accepting this point on the coast as Cabot's landfall. The 'y de s. Juan,' the present Prince Ed-

ward Island, is laid down on the map; and although Dr. Kohl thinks that the name was given by the French, and that Cabot may have taken it, not from his own survey, but from the French maps, I have seen no evidence of the application of the name on any map before this of Cabot. Cartier gave the name 'Sainct Jean' to a cape on the west coast of Newfoundland, in 1534, discovered also on St. John's Day; but this fact was not known, in print at least, till 1556, when the account of his first voyage was published in the third volume of Ramusio.

"We find no strictly contemporaneous reference to this map, or evidence that it exerted any influence on opinions respecting the first two voyages of the Cabots; and the name of John Cabot again sinks out of sight. Dr. Kohl has called attention to the fact that the author of this map has copied the coast line of the northern shore largely from Ribero.

"It may be added that the inscription No. 8, on Cabot's map, has since its republication by Hakluyt, with an English version by him, in 1589, been regarded as containing the most definite and satisfactory statement which had appeared as to the discovery of North America, the date as to the year having been subjected to some interesting criticisms, to be referred to farther on." 1

In copying this clear and exact statement by Mr. Deane, I have omitted the footnotes; but one of them is of sufficient importance to be given here as an appendix to the foregoing. It is as follows:

"It is supposed that a new edition of this map was published in 1549, the year after Sebastian Cabot returned to England. The only evidence of this is contained in a thick duodecimo volume first published in 1594, at Herborn, in Nassau, edited by Nathan Chytræus, entitled Variorum in Europa Itinerum Deliciæ, - a work consisting of monumental and other inscriptions, antique legends, and curious bits of antiquity in prose and verse, picked up by the diligent compiler in almost every country in Europe. He was in England in 1565; and apparently at Oxford, he saw a document, 'a geographical table,' under which he found several inscriptions in not very elegant Latin, which he copied and printed in his volume, filling twenty-two pages of the book. They are wholly in Latin, and correspond substantially with the Latin inscriptions on the Paris map described above. There is this difference. The inscriptions here are but nineteen in number, whereas on the Paris map there are twenty-two, five of them in Spanish only. No. xviii. of Chytræus is in the body only of the map, and in Spanish; and No. xix. appears

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Narrative and Critical History of America, vol. iii. pp. 20-24. It was Mr. Deane's opinion that the date on the map, MCCCCXCIIII (1494), was a mistake for MCCCCXCVII (1497).

only in Spanish. In Chytræus, each inscription has a title prefixed, wanting, as a rule, on the Paris map. There are some verbal variations in the text, owing probably to the contingencies of transcription and of printing. In the legend No. xvii., which has the title, 'Inscriptio sev titulus Auctoris,' the date 1549 is inserted as the year in which the map to which the inscriptions belonged was composed, instead of 1544, as in the Paris map." 1

The references in the body of the map to the legends at the sides are placed as follows:—

No. 1, between the Bermuda Islands and the West Indies.

No. 2, north of the Island of Antigua.

No. 3, opposite to the west coast of Mexico.

No. 4, opposite to the Strait of Magellan.

No. 5, at the Molucca Islands.

No. 6, opposite to the coast of Peru.

No. 7, at the mouth of the Rio de la Plata.

No. 8, in Hudson Bay.

No. 9, opposite to Iceland.

No. 10, in the northern part of Russia.

No. 11, in the northeastern part of Asia, where the reference is incorrectly given to Table 2, No. 2.

No. 12, in the northern part of Asia.

No. 13, in the middle of Africa.

No. 14, in Hindostan, without a numerical reference, but it is indicated by the picture of a woman surrounded by flames.

No. 15, north of Japan.

No. 16, near Sumatra.

No. 17, on the eastern side of the map, just south of the equator.

No. 18, north of Europe and Asia.

No. 19, in the Indian Ocean, nearly south of Hindostan.

No. 20, directly below the preceding reference.

No. 21, in the Indian Ocean, northwest from No. 19.

No. 22, near Ceylon.

The Spanish and Latin inscriptions as copied for Mr. Deane, and the English translation procured by him, here follow. In the translation, words which are in the Spanish version but not in the Latin are printed in italics. The additions of the Latin version are given in the footnotes. Mr. Deane apparently employed two different persons to copy the inscriptions.

Narrative and Critical History of America, vol. iii. p. 21. Mr. Deane owned two editions of Chytræus (1594 and 1606); and there was an edition dated 1599.

The copyist of the Spanish version found his text put upon the map in such a bungling manner, in respect to the separation of syllables and the running together of words and in other ways, that he wrote out the abbreviations and corrected the spelling, in order to render the meaning intelligible. His copy has, therefore, been carefully followed. The Latin version was in a better state, but it contained a great number of abbreviations which could not be easily represented by modern type; and though these abbreviations were preserved by the Latin copyist, they have been spelled out in printing, to conform to the rule adopted with regard to the Spanish version.

### TABULA PRIMA.

#### Del almirante.

Nº 1. El almirante Don Christoval Colon, de nacion ginovez, se ofresció á los Catholicos Reyes, de gloriosa memoria, que descubriria las islas y tierra firme de las Indias, por el occidente, si para ello le diesen sufficiente armada y favor, y aviendole, armado tres caravelas, el anno de 1492 passó á descubrirlas; y dende en adelante otras muchas personas an proseguido el dicho descubrimiento, segun que por la presente discrecion [descripcion] se manifesta.

Nº 2 En la isla Española ay mucho oro de nascimiento, y azul muy fino, y mucho azucar y cañafistola, e infinito ganado de toda suerte. Los puercos desta isla dan á los dolientes, como acá en nuestras partes carnero. Tiene esta dicha isla muchos puertos y muy buenos, y el principal dellos es la cibdad de Sant Domingo, que es una cibdad muy buena y de mucho tracto: y todos los otros son lugares edificados y pueblados por los Españoles. Y en la isla de Cuba, y de Sant Joan, y en todas las otras islas & tierra firme, se halla mucho oro de nascimiento: Y en la cibdad de Sant Domingo tiene su magestad su chancelleria Real, y en todos los otros pueblos y provincias gobernadores y regidores que los gobiernan y rigen con mucha justicia. Y cada dia se van descubriendo nueNº 1. Architalassus Dominus Christophorus Colon: natione Ligur, aperiturum se occidentales Indorum Insulas & continentem Regibus Catholicis felicis memoriæ pollicitus est, si ad hanc provinciam capessendam, necessaria sibi abunde impenderint; quippe qui trium navium, regio apparatu, & copiis omnibus, suffultum emiserunt, anno ab orbe redempto 1492; post eum plurimi succedentes has provincias nobis clausas aperuerunt, pro ut in præsenti descriptione patet.

Nº 2. Hispania hæc Insula innumeri prædives pecoris & armentorum est. Plurimo inde extracto abundat auro, Saccaro & Cassia fistula; permultæ navium stationes, ac tutissimi insunt portus. Præcipuus autem omnium est sancti Dominici, quæ civitas insignis esse perhibetur, multique commercii, reliquæ siquidem Coloniæ ductæ ab Hispanis & conditæ sunt. Cubæ ac divi Joannis cæterisque omnibus Insulis, necnon continenti, auri fodinæ innumeræ passim effodiuntur. Hæc loca omnia frequentibus incolis habitantur. Celebri divi Dominici urbe, regium forum præest, Imperatoris edicto, in aliis vero oppidis, villis & insulis, ejus gubernatores & populos regunt, ratione & legum sinceritate potius quam animi affectibus. Incognitæ seu ignotæ nobis Indorum regiones indies aperiuntur, exvas tierras y provincias muy ricas, por donde nuestra sancta fe catholica es, y será, muy aumentada; y estos Reynos de Castilla han grandescidos de muy gloriosa fama y riquezas

Nº 3. Esta tierra firme, que los Españoles llamaron la nueva España, conquistóla el muy illustre cavallero don Fernando Cortes, Marques del Valle de Guaxacon. Ay en esta tierra provincias y cibdades innumerables; la principal dellas es la cibdad de Mexico. la qual tiene mas de cinquenta mil vezinos; está en una laguna salada que coge quarenta leguas. Ay en dicha cibdad, y en todas las otras provincias mucho oro, plata de nascimiento y de todo genero de piedras preciosas; y criase en la dicha tierra y provincias mucha seda y muy buena, y algodon y alumbre, orchilla, y pastel, grana, y azafran, y azucar, y de todo lo suso dicho mucha cantidad, de lo qual muchas naos vienen cargadas á estos Reynos de España. Los naturales desta tierra son muy avisados en todo tracto de mercadurias; usan en lugar de moneda unas almendras partidas por medio que ellos llaman cacao, o cacanghnate, barbara dicion. Tienen mucho trigo, y cevada, y otras muchas semillas, y viñas y muchas fructas de diversas suertes. Es tierra de muchos animales; ciervos, puercos monteses, leones, pardos, tygres y otra mucha caza, así de aves como de animales terrestres. Es gente muy abil en contrahazer al natural qualquiera figura de bulto y en debuxar pinturas. Las mugeres comunemente se adornan con piedras preciosas y perlas de valor. Usan estos Indios cierta especie de papel en el qual debuxan con figuras todo lo que quieren dezir, en lugar de letras. Nunca tuvieron paz entre ellos, antes los unos perseguiavan á los otros con batallas continuas, en las quales, los que eran presos de una parte y de otra los enemigos los sacrificavan á sus dioses, cuyos cuerpos muertos eran mantenimientos publicos á la hueste. Eran ydolatras y adoravan lo que se les antojava; eran muy amigos de comer carne humana; puesto que al

pugnanturque, quo fides catholica felix ac faustum capit incrementum. Hispania vero congestis undique opibus ditior evadit.

Nº 3. Hanc continentem Hispani à suo nomine novam Hispaniam denominaverunt, quam illustris dominus Fernandus Cortesius, Vallis & Guaxace Marchio expugnavit; ejus plurimæ insunt provinciæ, urbesque innumeræ habitantur, quarum insignior Mexicum nuncupatur, Indorum nomine. siquidem numero quingenta incolorum millia excedit, eamque Lacus quidam salsus circuit, quadraginta parasangis; inde extracta maxima auri & argenti copia, ac preciosis lapillis, cum reliquæ aliæ hujus provinciæ urbes, tum ipsa Mexicum præcipuè abundat, plurimus hìc bombix & gossipium, alumen, crocum, glastum, aliique ad inficiendum colores producuntur. Præsertim saccarum, seu arundineus succus, adeo passim prodit, ut omnes Hispanorum naves annuatim ad Bæthicam Hispalim onerentur, indeque ad omnes provincias. hujus incolæ ad commutandas omnimodas merces callidissimi sunt. Pro enucleatis mediis amigdalis utuntur, quod numorum genus Cacao. seu Cacangnato barbaro Indorum nomine appellant; tritico, ordeo, aliisque seminibus, uvis & cæteris fructibus plurimum abundat; innumera terrestrium animalium genera, precipuè Cervorum, Aprorum, Leonum, Pardorum, Tigridum passim vagantur, aviumque volatilium inexhausta propemodum multitudo, quæ quidem loca omnia venationis plena. Ea gens doctissima & apprimè studiosa est, tam ad formandas qualescunque res sculpendi arte, quam ad effigiendas quasvis exacte figuras graphice. Eorum mulieres gemmis unionibus & preciosis lapillis adornantur. Papyri quodam genere Indi utuntur, in quo figuris quibusdam deliniant quæcunque voluerint pro literis. Nunquàm mutuo pacem inierunt concordi fædere, quinimò se invicem insequebantur bellis assiduis ac detestandis. Qui vero ex utraque acie victi capiebantur, hi ceu victima diis patriis pro victoria litabantur, quorum

presente se despojaron de aquellas fieras y crueles costumbres, y se vistieron de Jesu Christo, creyendo de buen corazon nuestra sancta ley Evangelica, y obedesciendo á la sancta madre yglesia y á sus mandamientos sanctisimos.

Nº 4. Este estrecho de todos sanctos descubrió Hernando de Magallanes, Capitan de una armada que mandó hazer la S. c. c. m. del Imperator Don Carlos y Rey, nuestro sennor, para el descubrimiento de las islas Maluco. Ay en este estrecho hombres de tan grande estatura que parescen Gigantes. Es tierra muy desierta; y vistense de pielos de animales.

Nº 5. Estas islas de Maluco fueron descubiertas por Fernando de Magallanes, Capitan de una armada que su magestad mandó hazer para el descubrimiento de las dichas islas, y por Joan Sebastian del Canno: es á saber, que el dicho Fernando de Magallanes descubrió el estrecho de todos sanctos, el qual está en LII grados y medio hazia el polo Antartico; y despues de aver passado el dicho yio estrecho syn' [estrecho, y no sin] grandisimo trabajo y peligro, prosiguió su viaje hazia las dichas yslas por espacio de muchos dias, [y] llegó á unas yslas de las quales la meridional dellas está en XII grados; y por ser la gente della tan buliciosa, y porque les hurtaron el batel de una nao, la pusieron nombre, la isla de los ladrones; y de ay prosiguiendo su viaje, como dicho es, descubrió una isla, que le pusieron nombre la Aguada, porque aý tomaron agua; y de aý adelante descubrieron otra, que se dize Bunham, y Aceilani, y otra, que se dize Cubu, en la qual ysla murió el dicho Capitan, Hernando de Magallanes, en una escaramuza que uvo con cadavera pro publicis dapibus exercitui apparabantur. Ea gens Idolorum cultrix erat, carnis hominum avidissima, adorabatque omnia quibus animus ejus quotidie afficiebatur. Etsi tempestate nostra ferinis illis antiquis moribus exuta & Christum Dominum nostrum se induens, eum fido corde profiteatur, veneretur, & colat: Euangelicæ fidei, Christicolæque religioni firmiter credens, sacræ sanctæque Catholicæ orthodoxorum Ecclesiæ synceris monitis divinisque præceptis obtemperans.

Nº 4. Fretum hoc Omnium Sanctorum Fernandus Magallianus aperuit, quem classis regiæ Hispanorum ad aperiendum expugnandumque Malucarum Insulas S. c. c. Majestas Caroli Imperatoris invictissimique Regis Domini nostri, hujus nominis quinti, ducem præfecerat. Qui hoc freto degunt, Gigantes potius terrigenesque homines esse traduntur, horum regio amplissima, vasta solitudine, ac raro habitatore colitur, hi hominum solis animalium pellibus induuntur.

Nº 5. Has Malucarum Insulas Fernandus Magallianus diu nostratibus clausas aperuit, necnon Joannes Sebastianus del Canno ejus successor, quem inquam Fernandum ad opulentissimas has Indorum Insulas aperiendas S. c. c. Majestas Caroli Imperatoris domini nostri hujus nomine quinti, suæ regiæ Hispanorum classi ducem & gubernatorem præfecerat, quæ quidem classis è portu Hispalis insignis civitatis Beticæ Is itaque provinciæ nauticum solvit. primo fretum Omnium Sanctorum aperuit, quod ab equinoctiali ad Antarcticum vergens 52. gradibus cum dimidio distat; cumque supradictas Insulas petens haud sine maximo sui periculo suorumque labore intolerabili, ulterius navigare pergeret. longo post tempore quibusdam appulit Insulis, è quibus à Polo Arctico, quæ magis ad meridiem expectat duodecim ab æquatore gradibus semota est, cujus homines agilitate apprime callidi sunt, quorum latrociniis, quia cymbula quædam classis, è conspectu nautarum Hispanorum evanuit, ea loca, latronum Insulas denominaverunt. Hinc deinceps

los naturales della; y la gente que quedó de la dicha armada eligieron Joan Sebastian del Canno por Capitan della : el qual despues descubrió la ysla de Bendanao, en la qual ay mucho oro de nascimiento y canela muy fina; y asý mismo descubrió á la ysla de Poloan, y á la de Brunay, y á la de Gilolo, y á la ysla de Tridori, y á la de Terenati, y Motil, y otras muchas, en las quales ay mucho oro, y clavo, y nuez moscada, y otro genero de especeria y drogueria. Cargó el dicho Sebastian del Canno dos naos, que les avia quedado de cinco que llevaron, de clavo en la dicha ysla de Tidori, porque en ella, y en la dicha ysla de Terenati, dizen nascer el dicho clavo, y no en otra alguna; y assí mismo truxo mucha canela y nuez moscada. Y veniendo la buelta del cabo de buena esperanza por el mar Indico adelante, para venir á España, una nao le fue forzado de arribar y tornar á la ysla de Tidori, de donde se partió, por la mucha agua que hazia; y el dicho Capitan Joan Sebastian del Canno, con su nao, nombrada Sancta Maria de la victoria, vino á estos Reynos de Castilla, á la cibdad de Sevilla, Anno de M. D. XXII, por el cabo de buena esperanza. De manera que claramente paresce aver dado el dicho Joan Sebastian del Canno una buelta á todo lo universo; por quanto fue tanto por occidente, aunque no por un parallelo, que bolvió por el oriente al lugar occidental de donde se partió.

Nº 6. Estas provincias fueron descubiertas por el honrado y muy efforzado cavallero, Francisco Pizarro, el qual fue governador dellas durante su vida; en las quales ay infinito oro y plata de nascimiento, y minas de esmeraldas muy finas. El pan que tienen hazenlo de maiz, y el vino semejantemente; tienen mucho trigo y otras semillas.

ulteriori navigatione aperuit quandam Insulam, cui Laguada nomen indiditquoniam eodem aquatum ire illi contigit: Aperuit & alias Bunham scilicet, Aceliani & Acubu, quarum ultima dictus Fernandus Magellianus congressu quodam Indorum hostium vita functus est, cui Joannes Sebastianus del Caño totius classis suffragiis, votisque omnium electus feliciter successit, qui postea sequentes Insulas Bedenao, Apoloam, Brunai, Gilolo, Atidori, Terrenati, Motil, aliasque quàm plurimas Insulas prosperè aperuit quibus maxima auri copia exoritur, Gariophilorum, Cinamomi, nucisque miristice, ac omnium aromatum & mercium, adeò ut ipse classiarius Joannes Sebastianus del Caño duas naves ex quinque, quas è naufragio cœperat incolumes, Tidori Insula Gariophillis oneravit. In illa siquidem ac Terenati tantum, in aliis vero Insulis nusquam produci aiunt: Abundat itidem Cinamomum, ac nuces miristice Bendenao legantur, quarum etiam maximam copiam inde abstulit. Dumque is ad Hispaniam per mare Indicum rediret, ac bonæ spei promontorium insinuare properat, altera navium sentinam exantlare haud facilè valens, ne fluctibus obrueretur, Tidori Insulam iterum petere coactus fuit, unde mare metiri cœperat: Joannes vero Sebastianus del Canno bonæ spei promontorium pertransiens, navi, qua vehebatur cui nomen diva victrix Maria, Hispalim civitatem Beticæ regionis tuto adire potitus est, unde primum navigare inchoaverat, Anno à nativitate redemptoris 1522. Ex quo satis constat Joannem Sebastianum del Canno totum orbem circulariter navigasse, utpote qui adeo occidentalem plagam usque permeavit, ut eam transiens ad occidentem iterum rediret, unde primum iter cœperat.

Nº 6. Has provincias nobis aperuerunt expugnaveruntque magnanimi equites Franciscus Pizarro & Almagro, qui inquam Franciscus Pizarro has dum vixerit gubernavit; copiosè inde extractis divitiis. Abundant enim aurifodinis & preciosis Smaragdis. Panis eorum quo vescuntur, & vinum quod bibunt, ex quadam spica prægrandi fit,

Es gente bellicosa; usan en sus guerras arcos, y hondas, y lanzas; sus armaduras son de oro y plata. Ay en las dichas provincias unas ovejas de hechura de pequennos camelos; tienen la lana muy fina. Son gentes idolatras y de muy sotil ingenio; y en toda la ribera de la mar, con mas de veinte leguas dentro de la tierra, no llueve. Es tierra muy sana. Los Christianos tienen hecho en ella muchos pueblos, y cada dia van aumentandolos.

Nº 7. Llaman los Indios á este gran Rio, el Rio huruai, en castellano, el Rio de la plata. Toman este nombre del Rio huruai, el qual es un Rio muy caudaloso, que entra en el gran Rio de Parana. Descubriólo Joan Diaz de Solis, piloto mayor de los catholicos reyes de gloriosa memoria; y descubrió hasta una isla, que el dicho Joan Diaz puso nombre la isla de Martin Garcia, porque en ella entierró un marinero, que se decia Martin Garcia; la qual dicha isla está obra de treynta leguas arriba de la boca deste Rio; y costéle bien caro el dicho descubrimiento, porque los Yndios de la dicha tierra lo mataron y lo comieron. despues passados muchos annos lo bolvió á hallar Sebastian Caboto, Capitan y Piloto mayor de S. c. c. m. del Imperador don Carlos, quinto deste nombre y Rey, nuestro sennor, el qual yva por Capitan general de una armada que su majestad mandó hazer para el descubrimiento de Tarsis, y Ofir y Catayo oriental; el qual dicho capitan Sebastian Caboto vino á este Rio por caso fortuito, porque la nao capitana, en que yva, se le perdió, y visto que no podia seguir el dicho su viaje, acordó de descubrir con la gente que llevava el dicho Rio, vista la grandisima relacion que los Indios de la tierra le dieron de la grandisima riqueza de oro y plata, que en la dicha tierra avia; y no sin grandisimo trabajo y hambre v peligros, así de su persona como de los que con el ivan. Y procuró el dicho capitan de hazer cerca del dicho rio algunas poblaciones de la gente que llevó de España. Este Rio es mayor que nynguno de quantos acá quæ Indorum idiomate Maiz appellatur. Ea gens belligera est, acri ingenio, idolorumque cultrix, utiturque in bello fundis, arcu & iaculis. Armaturæ eorum aureæ sunt & argenteæ. Genus quoddam ovium illic nascitur parvorum Camelorum simile, quarum lana mollis ac subtilissima est; ad viginti parasangas & amplius, tota litoralis ora nunquam pluvia madescet. Christicolæ plurimas illuc ducunt colonias, indiesque eas augere student.

Nº 7. Vastum flumen hoc Indorum lingua Vruai, Hispano vero idiomate Rio de la plata nuncupatur, cui affluit & alius fluvius Parana nomine; hoc autem Joannes Dias de Solis invictissimorum catholicorumque regum Ferdinandi & Elizabeth archigubernius primus aperuit, Insulæ tenus, quam à nomine cujusdam nautæ suæ classis ibi sepulti, Insulam Martini Gartiæ denominavit, quæ memoratum intra flumen ab ejus hostiis quadraginta parasangis distat. Hanc siquidem per varios casus per tot discrimina rerum, dum clausum suis aperit, expugnatque, ab Indis oppressus occisusque devoratur. Elapsis autem postea multis annis Sebastianus Cabotus navigandi arte astrorumque peritissimus, dux & archigubernius Caroli Imperatoris, hujus nominis quinti regisque potentissimi, denuo nobis aperuit classe regia, cui ipse Imperator ducem præfecerat ad aperiendum insulas Tarsis, Ofir, Ciapangu & Eoicatai, qui inquam archigubernius obiter flumen hoc intravit, in causa fuit, quia navium eius ductrix naufragium fecerat, procellosis obruta fluctibus, quo cursum sibi destinatum cum sociis minimè continuare potuit, cumque his nautis, qui mari recepti aderant, flumen aperire aggressus est haud sine magno sui periculo suorumque labore intolerabili, fame ac rerum omnium penuria, à nonnullis Indorum antea certior factus, regionem istam auro & argento omnium opulentissimam esse, quo solertissimus dux & archigubernius motus ducere colonias cœpit; prope flumen nonnullos arces ac propugnacula condere diligenter curavit, quibus Hispani incolæ facile tuerentur, & vim hostium

se conoscen; tiene de ancho en la entrada, que entra en la mar, veinte y cinco leguas, y trezientas leguas arriba de la dicha entrada tiene dos leguas en ancho. La causa de ser tan grande y poderoso es que entran en el otros muchos rios, grandes y caudalosos. Es rio de infinitisimo pescado y el mejor que ay en el mundo. La gente en llegando á aquella tierra quiso conoscer si era fertil, y aparejada para labrar y llevar pan; y senbraron en el mes de setiembre LII granos de trigo, que no se halló mas en las naos, y cogieron luego en el mes de deziembre cinquenta y dos mill granos de trigo, que esta misma fertilidad se halló en todas las otras semillas. Los que en aquella tierra biven dizen, que no lexos de ay en la tierra adentro, que ay unas grandes sierras de donde sacan infinitisimo oro, y que mas adelante en las mismas sierras sacan infinita plata. Ay en esta tierra unas ovejas grandes como asnos comunes, de figura de camelos, salvo que tienen la lana tan fina como seda; y otras muy diversas animales. La gente de la dicha tierra es muy diferente entre si, porque los que biven en las aldas de las sierras son blancos como nosotros, y los que estan hazia la ribera del rio son mo-Algunos dellos dizen que en renos. las dichas sierras ay hombres que tienen el rostro como de perro, y otros de la rodilla abaxo como de Abestruz, y que estos son grandes trabajadores y que cogen mucho mays, de que hazen pan, y vino del. Ctras muchas cosas dizen de aquella tierra que no se pone aquy por no ser prolixas.

Nº 8. Esta tierra fue descubierta por Joan Caboto Veneciano y Sebastian Caboto su hijo, anno del nascimiento de nuestro Salvador Jesu Christo de M. CCCC. XCIIII, á veinte y quatro de Junio por la mannana; á la qual pusieron nombre prima tierra vista, y á una isla grande, que está par de la dicha tierra, le pusieron nombre

Indorum inde propellerent. Hoc flumen majus est omnibus nobis cognitis, cujus ostia mare adfluentia latitudine viginti quinque parasangis protenduntur. Reliquum hujus supra trecentas ab ostiis latitudine duobus parasangis dimetitur, cujus vasta profunditas causatur ex multorum confluxu ingentium fluviorum; multis abundat & optimis piscibus omnium quas mare nutrit. Gens nostra cum primum his appulit oris, an culta tellus illa fertilis esset & aptissima lætas ferre segetes periculum fecit, collectis quinquaginta duobus tritici granis, quæ in tota eorum classe invenerant mense Septembri terræ mandavit. Decembri vero duo millia supra quinquaginta mensuit, laliorum seminum ac leguminum eadem est fertilitas. Hujus regionis incolæ non procul inde celsos quosdam montes inesse aiunt, è quibus ingentem auri copiam extrahere solent, nec multo longiori intervallo alios asserunt innumero abundare argento, & alia cum visu tum dictu innumerabilia enarrantur, quæ pro eorum prolixitate ne fastidiant animos silentio traduntur. Hi homines proni sunt ad laborem, ac terræ cultus studiosissimi, unde multum vini & panis conficiunt ex ea spica, quam Indi Maiz appellant. Quoddam genus ovium hic magno corpore adest parvorum camelorum instar. quarum vellera permolli ac tenuissima lana, ceu bombice exornantur suntque alia quàm plurima diversorum animalium genera. Hujus regionis homines, forma & colore inter se longe different siquidem qui in montibus degunt, albi colore & nobis similes sunt: qui vero fluminis ripas incolunt, hi fusco & tetro colore nigrent. Nonnulli eorum caninam faciem habere perhibentur, quidam autem pedes & tibias ad struthocamelorum similitudinem habent.

Nº 8. Terram hanc olim nobis clausam aperuit Joannes Cabotus Venetus, necnon Sebastianus Cabotus ejus filius, anno ab orbe redempto 1494. die vero 24. Julii,<sup>2</sup> hora 5. sub diluculo, quam terram primum visam appellarunt, & In-

<sup>1</sup> Should be "messuit."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> In Chytræus it reads "1594 die verè 24. Junii."

sant Joan, por aver sido descubierta el mismo dia. La gente della andan vestidos de pieles de animales, usan en sus guerras arcos y flechas, lanzas, y dardos, y unas porras de palo, y hondas. Es tierra muy steril; ay en ella muchos orsos blancos, y ciervos muy grandes como cavallos, y otras muchas animales; y semejantemente ay pescado infinito, sollos, salmones, lenguados muy grandes de vara en largo, y otras muchas diversidades de pescados, y la mayor multitud dellos se dizen baccallaos; y así mismo ay en la dicha tierra halcones, prietos como cuervos, aguillas, perdices, pardillas, y otras muchas aves de diversas maneras.

Nº 9. En esta ysla de Islanda ay grandisima multitud de pescado; tomanlo en el yvierno, y secanlo con el grande frio que haze allá porque esta dicha isla está dentro del circulo Artico; y en el verano van allá de muchas partes. v mercan del dicho pescado asi seco á trueque de harina y cervesa; y este dicho pescado es tan seco y duro, que para comerlo lo baten con unos martillos de hierro encima de unas piedras duras como marmol, y despues le ponen á remojar un dia o dos, y asý lo comen despues, cozido con manteca de vacas. Y en toda esta mar setentrional ay grandisima multitud de pescado, y muchos dellos grandes y de monstruosa forma; an visto los que en esta mar navigan morenas grandisimas, que parescen grandes sierpes, y acometer á los navios para comerse los navigantes. Los naturales de la dicha isla la mayor parte dellos hazen sus casas debaxo de tierra, y las paredes de huesos de pescados; no tienen leiñna salvo unos pequenos arbolezitos y destos muy pocos, y en pocos lugares, Proveedor de todas las cosas lo provee cada anno, que le viene por la mar, de hazia las partes setentrionales de la dicha isla, muy grandisima multitud de arboles de diversas suertes y grandezas, como cosa de naufragio, transportados de furiosos vientos septentrionales á la costa de la dicha isla; de los quales los naturales se proveen, y gastan para

sulam quandam magnam ei oppositam. Insulam divi Joannis nominarunt, quippe quæ solenni die festo divi Joannis aperta fuit. Hujus terræ incolæ pellibus animalium induuntur, arcu in bello, sagittis, hastis, spiculis, clavis ligneis, & fundis utuntur: sterilis incultaque tellus fuit, leonibus, ursis albis. procerisque cervis, piscibus innumeris. lupis scilicet, salmonibus & ingentibus soleis unius ulnæ longitudine, aliisque diversis piscium generibus abundat, horum autem maxima copia est, quos vulgus Bacallios appellat; ad hæc insunt accipitres nigri corvorum similes, aquilæ, perdicesque fusco colore, aliæque diversæ volucres.

Nº 9. Hæc Insula innumera piscium multitudine abundat, quos ejus incolæ hyeme capiunt & Boreali horriferoque frigore desiccant, utpote inque sub Arcti sita circulo, penetrabile frigus constringit desiccando. Ineunte autem vere Angli, Germani, aliarumque diversarum regionum incolæ huc adnavigant, pisces hos frigore desiccatos empturi, cervisiæ & farinæ commutatione. que hoc piscium genus adeo durum, ut malleis ferreis superlapidem pertundere necesse sit, postea vero aqua biduo molire, quo tandem butyro condientes comedant. Nec solum hæc Insula ingentem piscium copiam alit, sed etiam totum mare Scythicum, quorum nonnulli adeò vasto corpore emergunt, ut monstra potius marina quam pisces videantur. Fertur à quibusdam hoc mare navigantibus adeò hic ingentes murenas prospici, serpentibus similes ut naves ipsas invadere audeant, quo nautas & vectores arripientes devo-Insulæ hujus incolæ subterranea domicilia sibi construunt, quorum parietes piscium ossibus erigunt, lignorum autem penuria laborant, perexigua siquidem arbuscula raraque hic pullulant, sed summus ille gubernator his necessaria annuatim satis copiosè largitur ex Septentrionali plaga, quam plurimæ variæque ac proceræ arbores turbine ventorum eradicatæ immanique agilitate procella his littoribus, naufragii instar impelluntur, quibus

todo lo á ellos necesario. Y dizen que muchas vezes oyen hablar spiritus, y llamarse por sus nombres, y parescer á personas vivas, y dezirles quien son, y en ciertas partes de la dicha isla salen unos fuegos muy horribles, y otras muchas maravillas dizen los naturales desta dicha isla que ay en ella.

Nº 10. Los hombres que habitan en esta region son salvajes; carescen de pan y de vino; amansan ciervos y cavalgan en ellos; y pelean con otra gente, que está mas adelante hazia el setentrion, que ellos llaman nocturnos, porque van de noche y hazen sus haziendas como acá de dia; y esto porque los dias allá, desde xIIII de setiembre hasta x de marzo, son tan pequenos que non ay una hora de claridad. Son muy mala gentes, alteadores; roban á todos los que passan por aý cerca; navio ninguna no osa estar surto á la costa por miedo destos hombres nocturnos, porque matan y roban á todos quantos pueden aver á las manos. un poco adelante destos nocturnos, hazia el sudueste, dizen aver unos monstruos que tienen todo el cuerpo como de persona humana, salvo la cabeza, que tienen como de puerco, y que gruñendo se entienden como puercos.

abunde utuntur. Aiunt præterea persæpe hic audire spiritus se mutuo alloquentes, propriisque nominibus se invicem appellantes, & vivis hominibus nonnunquam apparentes, quibus se ac sua nomina, quæ sint indicare perhibentur, & quibusdam ejusdem Insulæ locis, ignis, visu horribilis per se excutitur & procul jactatur, rotaturque. Et plura alia cum visu tum auditu mirabilia hujus Insulæ inesse asserunt quæ brevitatis causa omittuntur.

Nº 10. Hujus regionis incolæ ferinis moribus imbuti, solitudinem incolunt sylvestresque omnino sunt, pane & vino penitus carent, cervos cicures ac mites reddentes, horum dorsis invehuntur. Cumque his hominibus magis ad Septentrionem vergentibus bella semper ineunt Nocturnis nomine appellatis, quia suas ipsorum res tam publicas quam privatas noctu, quemadmodum apud nos diu nostrates peragunt, eis quoque hoc evenit, quia è decimo quarto Septembris die, usque ad decimum Martii adeo breviter dies eorum semper evolat, ut vix unius horæ spatium contineat; ea gens pessima est, cassatrixque & omnimodo latrociniis deditissima, adeo ut nullus viator ea loca adeat, quin ab eisdem Nocturnis occidatur spolieturque. Paulò ante ulterius à Nocturnis Aphricumversus monstra quædam inesse aiunt, quæ quidem toto corpore hominibus, capite vero porcis similia sunt, & grunnientes porcorum instar se mutuo intelligunt.

#### TABULA SECUNDA.

Nº 11. Los que habitan en esta Region, algunos adoran el Sol, otros la primera cosa que veen por la mannana quando se levantan, otros adoran un pedaço de paño colorado que ponen encima de una lança, y asý cada uno adora lo que se le antoja: estan debaxo del poder del gran Can, Imperador de los Tartaros.

Nº 12. Aquí ay monstruos semejantes á hombres, que tienen las orejas tan grandes que les cubre todo el cuerpo; y mas adelante, hazia oriente, dizen que ay unos hombres que no tienen coyontura

Nº 11. Eorum qui hac regione degunt, quidam Solem adorant: Alii vero exurgentes læte quicquid primum viderint: Alii item frustum panni rubri hasta affigentes venerantur numinis instar.

Nº 12. Sunt hic monstra hominibus similia, quæ adeo demissas prægrandesque habent aures, ut his totum corpus operiant. Ulteriusque orientem versus quosdam homines inesse perhi-

ninguna hazia las Rodillas ny en los pies: Estan debaxo del poder del gran Can. En la provincia de Balor, la qual tiene cinquenta dias de andadura, son hombres silvestres; habitan en los montes y florestas.

Nº 13. Aquí habita aquel poderoso Rey de Aziumba y Auxama, que algunos llaman Preste Joan, al qual sesenta Reyes le dan obediencia; es abundantisimo de toda riqueza, y nunca se halla que fuese vencido en batalla alguna, mas muchas vezes bolvió del medio dia, de los pueblos Throgloditas, gente nuda y negra, con gloriosa victoria; la qual gente llega hasta el cabo de buena esperança. Entre la qual gente ay una nacion que no hablan, mas sifflando se entienden. Y este no es el Preste Joan, porque el Preste Joan tenia su sennoria en la Yndia oriental y meridional, fasta que Chenchis, primero Rey de los Tartaros, lo venció y superó en una muy cruel batalla, en la qual murió; y el dicho Chenchis le tomó todos sus Reynos y sennorias, y dexó bivir los Christianos en su ley, y les dió Rey Christiano que los regiese y gobernase; el qual Rey se llamava Jorge, y despues aca todos los reves que suceden se llaman Jorge, como lo dize Marco Polo mas largamente á los xlii y á los xlviii capitulos de su libro.

Nº 14. El Rey desta provincia y Reyno de Bengala es muy poderoso señor v tiene debaxo de su sennoria muchas cibdades, y muy grandes y de mucho tracto. Ay en este provincia y Reyno mucha canela, clavo, gengibre, pimienta, sandalos, lacar y seda en mucha canti-Tienen por costumbre en este Reyno y provincia, despues que mueren, de quemar los cuerpos; y quando el marido muere primero que la muger, quemase la muger biva con el marido, diziendo que va á gozar con el en el otro mundo; y es desta manera; que muriendo el marido la muger haze un gran combite y se viste de los mas ricos vestidos que tiene; al qual combite bentur, quorum genua & pedes junctura carent, deguntque sub ditione magni Canis, in illa provincia, quem Balor eorum nomine dicitur, hæc quinquaginta dierum iter continet. Hi homines sylvestres omnino sunt, montium nemorumque cultores.

Nº 13. Hic potentissimus ille regum degit, Aziumbæ Auxamæque civitatibus imperans, quem vulgus Preste Joannem appellant, cujus ministerio astrincti sexaginta Reges versantur, quorumvis potentissimorum Regum felicissimam sortem divitiis suis exuperans, quippe qui nunquam bello ut ullis pro illis 1 victus recessit, sed sæpe Throgloditis nudo nigroque corpore populis meridiei maxima cum victoria triumphans rediit, qui cum promontorio bonæ spei (ut fertur) conterminat, inter quos genus quoddam horum hominum non loquitur, sed sibilis tantum se invicem percipere solent. Hunc itaque haud Preste Joannem illum esse, facile constat, cum is Eois, ac meridionalibus Indis imperaret, donec Chenchis primus Tartarorum rex, crudelis bellico congressu quodam eum superans feliciter prostravit ejusque imperium armata manu usurpavit, Christicolisque (quoscunque ibi invenerat) impune religione sua uti clemens concessit, ipsis Regem statuit ejusdem fidei, qui mitissimè eos regeret, ac benignè eos tractans gubernaret, Georgius nomine, cujus deinceps successores idem nomen sibi vendicabant, quemadmodum Marcus Polus libri sui quadragesimi, secundo & tertio capite copiosius refert.

Nº 14. Hujus provinciæ regnique Bengolæ potentissimus rex est, pluribus ingentibus ac Insignibus & maximi commercii civitatibus dominatur, estque incredibili propemodum conjunctus necessitudine cum invictissimo Lusitaniæ Rege, quocum perpetuo fædere pacem invit unde ingens ei copia provent Cinamomi, Gariophilorum, Zinziberlä, Piperisque, Sandalorum & Bombicis, Horum moris fuisse aiunt cadavera cremare, & si uxoratus aliquis ex vivis decessisset, cum eo vivam ejus conjugem in rogo mariti comburere, credentes illam ad alium orbem migrantem

1 So on the map; but in Chytræus it is "aut ullis præliis."

vienen todos sus parientes y del marido, y despues de aver comido, va ella con toda la gente á un lugar donde está hecho un grandisimo fuego, cantando y baylando fasta llegar al dicho fuego; y despues hechan el cuerpo muerto del marido dentro, y luego ella se despide de sus parientes y amigos, y se lança en el fuego; y aquella que mas liberalmente se hecha en el fuego, aquella da honra á su linage. Mas ya esta costumbre no se usa como solia, despues que los portugueses tractaron con ellos, y le dieron á entender que Dios nuestro sennor no era servido de tal cosa.

Nº 15. El gran Can, Imperador de los Tartaros es muy grandisimo señor y muy poderoso; entitulase Rey de los Reyes y Sennor de los sennores; tiene por costumbre de dar á sus Varones vestidos treze vezes en el anno, en treze grandisimas fiestas que haze en cada un anno, y estas vestiduras son de mayor o menor valor, segun la calidad de las personas á quien se da; y á cada uno dan una cinta, y calzas, sonbrero guarnescido de oro y perlas y piedras preciosas, segun la grandeza de las personas : y estas vestiduras que da el dicho gran Can en cada un anno son clvi. M; y esto haze por egrandescer y magnificar sus fiestas. Y quando muere llevanlo á enterrar á un monte que se dize Alcay, donde se entierran los gran Canes, Imperadores de los Tartaros; y los que lo llevan á enterrar matan á todos los que hallan, diziendoles; id á servir á nuestro sennor en el otro mundo; y assi mismo matan todos sus cavallos, camelo y azemilas que tienen, creyendo que van á servir á su sennor. Quando murió Mongui Can, Imperador de los Tartaros, fueron muertos trezientos mill hombres, que encontraron en el camino aquellos

eo ipso usque frui, cum quo hic vitam egerat. Cujus res hujusmodi erat, conjuge mortuo, uxor ejus convivium vivis solenne parabat, defunctoque parentalia, induebaturque auro & peplo preciocissimo, omnium quæ possidebat. & ad lautas epulas illas omnes confestim tam sui quam mariti affines & amici properantes convivabantur, postquam exempta fames epulis, mensæque remotæ, tunc illa convivis omnibus & funerali pompa stipata ad pyram accedebat, exultansque canebat & tripudiabat, quo ubi pervenerat, mariti cadavera in ignem dejecta, ipsa deinceps in rogum desiliebat, extremum vale omnibus dicens, & quæ hilariori vultu in flammas se projiciebat, majori se suosque omnes honore afficiebat. Enimyero vanus ille ritus & detestanda religio evanuit, ex quo gens Lusitania eorum commercio utitur, quippe quæ diu eos admonens pessimum facinus illud dedocuit, quæ omnia Deo displicere facilè nunc persuadentur.

No 15. Princeps ille Tartarorum. quem vulgo magnum Can nominant, locupletissimus potentissimusque esse perhibetur, jubetque superbissima nomenclatura se regem regum ac potentium omnium principem appellari. Huic morem esse aiunt, iis viris omnibus, qui in ejus aula suo ministerio astricti versantur, tredecim diebus festis, quos summo honore peculiari ritu quotannis celebrat, recentes preciosasque vestes pro cujusque meritis dare, donatque his omnibus festis etiam singulas zonas singulis singulaque tibialia, caligulas, galeros vel umbellas, auro, margaritis, ac preciosis gemmis circumseptas, ut cujusvis merita sunt. Vestium autem numerus quas singulis annis largitur, sex millium supra centum quinquaginta proditur, quæ omnia & sua festa colendi, ac extollendi, & proprii nominis celebrandi gratia diligentissimi fieri curat. Qui mortuus in montem, cui Alcai nomen inditum, tumulandus effertur. porro efferentes quotquot inter eundum obvios habent pro victimis occidunt. Aiunt siquidem, par esse, eos principem suum comitari, aut alio orbe debita servitutis obsequia sint præstanda:

que lo llevavan á enterrar, segun dize Marco Polo en su libro, capitulo XLII. Pogio Florentino, Secretario del Papa Eugenio quarto, acerca del fin de su segundo libro, que escrivió de la variacion y mudanza de la fortuna, hace mucho para la confirmacion de lo que el dicho Marco Polo escrivió en su libro.

Nº 16. Diversas opiniones ay qual sea la Trapovana, despues que los Españoles y Portugueses navegaron el mar Indico: de la manera que el Ptolemeo la tiene situada, por grados de longitud y latitud, creo que á todos sea notorio. Algunos de los modernos descubradores tienen que la isla de Ceislan es la Trapovana; otros tienen que es la isla de Camatra. Plinio escrive de la Trapovana en su sesto libro, capitulo xxij, y dize que fue un tiempo que tuvieron opinion que la Trapovana fuese otro mundo, y que se llamava Antichtono; y que Alexandro fue el primero que nos dió noticia aquella ser isla; y que Onesechrito, almirante de su armada [dijo] que en la dicha isla de Trapovana av mayores elephantes y mas bellicosos que en la India; y que Magasaene pone su longura siete mill estados, y de anchura cinco mill; que no ay en ella ciudad cercada, salvo sete cientos villages ; y que en el principio de Claudio vinieron embaxadores de la dicha isla á Roma. Desta manera : el liberto Danio Plocamio, el qual avia mercado de la republica la renta del mar vermejo, y navegando al rededor de Arabia, fue dal viento setentrional transportado manera, que al quintodecimo dia entró en un puerto de la dicha isla, el qual se dezia Hipno; y que fue del Rey liberalisimamente rescebido y tractado. que, despues de aver estado en la dicha isla seis meses, aprendió la lengua, y que un dia, hablando con el Rey, le dixo, que los Romanos y su Imperador eran de inaudita justicia, y que el Rey mactant etiam equos omnes, camelos ac mulos, quibus vivens utebatur, persuasum habentes, ea omnia suo Principi post mortem servitura. Mortuo Mongui horum Tartarorum Principe, quem magnum Can appellari diximus, trecenta hominum milia in itinere, cum in montem (ut diximus) deferretur ab efferentibus reperta, auctore Marco Pollo libro quarto capite 24. cæsa sunt asserit hoc idem Florentinus Pogius, qui à secretis fuit Eugenii Papæ quarti libro secundo de fortunæ mutatione, qui non dubia quæ à Pollo scripta sunt, apertissimè demonstrant.

Nº 16. Tarpovana quænam sit, ac ubi terrarum sita, varie auctores sentiunt, ex quo ab incolis Beticæ regionis, necnon Lusitaniæ mare Indicum navigari cœptum est. Utque à Ptolemæo secundum latitudinem graduum ac longitudinem ejus describitur, neminem latere censeo. Nonnulli vero neoterico. rum, qui incognita loca nobis nota tradidere, Ceilam insulam Taprobanam esse uno ore asserunt: Alii eam Camatram Plinius libro 6. caesse contendunt. pite 22. hujus meminit, dicens: Taprobana alter orbis esse, sententia omnium habebatur, unde Antichton ab eis nuncupabatur. Alexandrum autem tradunt primum extitisse, qui eam insulam esse, non orbem indicaverit, utque Onosecritus classis ejus Architalassus refert. Hæc insula majores pugnatioresque habet elephantes omnibus, quos tota India enutrit, cujus insulæ Magastes longitudinem septem milibus stadiorum, quinque vero milibus latitudinem metitur, nullaque civitas mœnibus vallatur, septingenta tamen villæ ejus provinciæ At hæc sub ditione annumerantur. Claudii circa primam sui Imperii gubernationem hujus Insulæ oratores Romam petiere hac de causa & ratione, Libertus Damius Plocamius à Romanis vectigalia & proventum maris rubri redemit, dumque Arabiam obnavigat, Septentrionalis ventus eum adeò procul disjecerat, ut quindecim elapsis diebus cuidam hujus Insulæ portui appulerit, cui nomen Hippurus, à cujus rege benigno hospitio susceptus est. Postquam sex menses, cum ejus idi-

mirando la moneda, que el dicho liberto tenia, eran de ygual peso aunque las ymagines demonstravan ser de diversos Imperadores, movido desto, embió embaxadores á Roma; el primero fue Rachia, á conciliar amicitia con Claudio. De los quales embaxadores entendió que en la dicha isla avia ccccc ciudades, y que estos dichos embaxadores se maravillaron de ver en este nuestro cielo Setentrion y las Vergilias, como cosa nueva y á ellos incognita; y que dezian que en la dicha isla no veían la luna sobre la tierra, si no del octavo dia fasta el quintodecimo; y maximamente se maravillavan que las sombras yvan hazia el nuestro cielo y no hazia el suyo, y que el sol saliese á la diestra y se pusiese á la siniestra; por las quales susodichas razones paresce, que en la dicha isla, donde el dicho liberto aportó, no paresce la estrella de Norte, la qual paresce en la Trapovana isla. Por donde se podria dezir, atento de donde se partió el dicho liberto Danio Proclamio, y al camino que podria hazer con furioso viento setentrional, que la isla, donde el aportó, fue la isla de Sant Lorenço y no la Trapubana. Y que el Rey de la dicha isla es elegido, por el comun, hombro viejo y clemente y sin hijos; y si despues de elegido engendrase alguno, luego lo descomponen; y quando lo eligen, le dan treynta consejeros; y que el dicho Rey no pueda condenar á nadie, si la mayor parte de los dichos sus treynta consejeros no sean de consentimiento con el; y que despues, el dicho condenado puede apelar para el pueblo, el qual luego eligen setenta Juezes, los quales miran su causa; y si hallan que fue mal sentenciado, danlo por libre, y aquellos consejeros, que fueron en condenarlo, quedan privados de sus oficios y por infames para siempre jamas.

oma satis apprime addicisset, ac longo sermone regem alloqueretur, maximam Romanorum justitiam, summamque eorum Imperatoris rectitudinem enarrabat, cumque Rex diversum monetæ genus Romanorum diu circumspiceret, quod Libertus secum attulerat, varia Imperatorum imaginem 1 nummos, pondus vero æque omnium idem animadvertens, maximè admiratus est, unde confestim ad Romanorum Imperatorem Oratores legavit, qui perpetuo cum eo pacis fœdus inirent; cui cum sociis Rachias oratorum ejus celeberrimus Claudium conciliavit, ex quibus Imperator quingentas huic insulæ civitates inesse facile percepit. Inque sua cœli plaga Septentrionalem arctum & vergiliarum ortum minimè videri, quibus conspectis admirabantur. siquidem hæc sidera sua regione incognita esse & nunquam apparere asserebant. Præterea Lunam ab octavo ad quintumdecimum usque diem tantum prospici aiebant. Illud omnium maximè eos admiratione afficiebat, quòd umbræ dextrorsum ad nostrum polum vergerent, cum sua ipsorum regione sinistras ire semper intuerentur, solemque dextra exoriri, leva vero occidi. quibus de causis & rationibus constat, arctum hac insula, cui Libertus appulit, nunquam videri, quodque Libertus insulam sancti Laurentii, non autem Taprobanam adiit. Siquidem ex Liberti cursu & navigatione, enarrationeque oratorum ad Tiberium, ut dictum est, insula, cui ipse Libertus Damius Plocamius appulit, haud Taprobana fuit, sed potius insula divi Laurentii. Huic insulæ moris esse aiunt regem è senioribus eligere comunibus omnium suffragiis, qui clementia, comitate, ac ingenui animi benignitate longe omnes superaret, quique sine liberis ac prole sit. Hic itaque sceptro jam potitus, si interim liberos adeptus fuerit, confestim regia potestate privari solet. pore autem quo is eligitur, triginta consiliarii, qui regi assistant decernuntur. Hic autem neminem morti adjudicare potestatem habet, ni prius major eorum numerus ipsi suffragetur, ad hæc jure reo permittitur, qui à rege & ejus con-

<sup>1</sup> Should be "imagine."

siliariis morti adjudicatus est, populum in sui defensionem provocare, hic protinus septuaginta legum peritissimos ac justissimos judices deligit, qui ejus causam diligenter examinant, hi si reum mortis inique condemnatum communi omnium consensu compererint, eum ilicò vinculis solvunt, ac pristinæ libertati restituunt, consiliarios vero qui reum moriturum censuerunt injustissimè regio privant munere, ac perpetua ignominia afficiuntur.

Retulo del auctor con ciertas razones de la variacion que haze el aguja del marear con la estrella del Norte.

Nº 17. Sebastian Caboto, capitan y piloto mayor de la S. c. c. m. del Imperador don Carlos, quinto deste nombre, v Rev, nuestro sennor, hizo esta figura, extensa en plano, anno del nascimiento de nuestro salvador Jesu Christo de MDXLIIII annos, tirada por grados de latitud y longitud, con sus vientos, como carta de marear; imitando en parte al Ptolomeo y en parte á los modernos descubridores, asi Espannoles como Portugueses, y parte por su padre y por el descubierto, por donde podras navegar como por carta de marear teniendo respecto á la variacion que haze el aguja del marear con la estrella del Norte: verbi gratia, tu te quieres partir del cabo de Sant Vincente para ir á tomar el cabo de Finisterra; mandaras governar tu navio al Norte por tu aguja de marear y yras á dar dentro del dicho cabo, mas tu verdadero camino, que tu navio hizo, fue al Norte quarta del Nordeste, porque tu aguja de marear te Nordestea una quarta en el dicho cabo de Sant Vincente, de manera que, mandando governar tu navio al Norte por tu aguja de marear, tu camino será al Norte, quarta del Nordeste; y así mismo, partiendote de Salmedina, que es una baxa á la salida de San Lucar de Barrameda, para yr á la punta de Naga de la isla de Tenerife, mandaras governar al Sudueste por tu aguja y yras á tomar la dicha punta de Naga por lo que está situada en la carta de marear, mas tu camino no será al Sudueste, por quanto

Epilogus, in quo Auctor hujus Chartæ reddit certas rationes, variationis acus buxulæ nauticæ ad stellam Polarem.

Nº 17. Sebastianus Cabotus Dux & archigubernius S. c. c. m. domini Caroli Imperatoris, hujus nominis quinti, & Regis Hispaniæ domini nostri, summam mihi manum imposuit, & ad formam hanc protrahens, plana figura me deliniavit, anno ab orbe redempto, nativitate Domini nostri Jesu Christi 1544. qui me juxtà graduum longitudinem ac latitudinem, ventorumque situm, cum docte tum fideliter, navigatoriæ Chartæ instar descripsit, Geographi Ptolemæi auctoritatem, peritiorumque omnium neotericorum loca clausa nobis aperientium tam Hispanorum quam Lusitanorum fidem sequutus, necnon ex usu ac industria longæ navigationis integerrimi viri Joannis Caboti natione Veneti, atque Sebastiani astrorum peritia navigandique arte omnium doctissimi, ejus filii auctorisque mei, qui aliquantam orbis partem diu nostratibus clausam aperuerunt, qua propter me fida doctissimaque magistra, ceu Hydrographica charta utens, quocunque est animus mare metiri poteris, acus nauticæ variationem observans, qua ad Arctum vertitur. Cujus rei argumentum est: Sic ex sacro promontorio nauticum solveris, Celticum promontorium petiturus, navem licet protinus ad Arctum dirigere jubeas, Hydrographica acu, quo cursu recto tramite Finis terræ appuleris promontorio, iter tamen quod vere navis tua peregerat, non recta ad Arctum, sed Arctum versus ad quartam Cæciæ

tu aguia de marear te Nordestea en Salmedina una quarta larga, mas será tu camino al Sudueste, quarta del Sur largo; asý que podras dezir que, partiendote del cabo de San Vincente al Norte, tu camino será Norte, quarta de Nordeste, y partiendote de Salmedina al Sudueste, tu camino sera al Sudueste, quarta del Sur; y así por consiguiente haras en toda otra parte deste universo. mirando la variacion que te haze la dicha aguja de marear con la estrella del Norte. Porque la dicha aguja no se buelve ny está en todo lugar al Norte. como el comun vulgo piensa; porque la piedra yman, segun paresce, no tiene virtud para hazerla buelver al Norte en todo lugar, mas, segun por experiencia se vee y alcança, tiene solamente virtud de hazerla estar stabil y fixa en un lugar, por donde a de monstrar forçado por linea recta por qualquier viento que fueres, y no por circular, y aessa causa haze la dicha variacion. Que si la dicha aguja se buelviese al Norte, cada v quando y en todo lugar, no haria variacion ninguna porque yria por linea circular, porque siempre estarias en un parallelo, qual no puede ser yendo por linea recta en un redondo. Y as de notar que quanto mas te apartares del meridiano que la aguja te está derechamente al Norte, hazia el Occidente o hazia el Oriente, tanto mas se apartará tu aguja de Norte, es á saber la flor de lis della, la qual está sennalanda por el Norte; por donde paresce claramente que la dicha aguja muestra por linea recta y no por circular; y as de saber que el meridiano donde la flor de lis del aguja está derechamente al Norte es obra de treynta y cinco leguas de la isla de Flores, la ultima isla de los Açores hazia el occidente, segun la opinion de algunos expertos, por la mucha experiencia que dello tienen, á causa de la quotidiana navegacion que hazen al Occidente á las Indias del mar Oceano. El dicho Sebastian Caboto navegando hazia el occidente se halló en parte donde el Nordeste quarta del Norte le estava derechamente al Norte; por las quales susodichas experiencias, paresce claramente ser verdad los defectos y varia-

Navigatoria siquidem acus & si recta linea è Sacro promontorio ad oram Finis terræ cursum demonstret. ad Arctum nihilominus tamen quarta parte ab Arcto ad Cæciam distare certum est, Quapropter cum navem acu nautica ad Arctum regere jusseris, erit navigatio tua per quartam Septentrionis Cæciam versus. navigationis considerationem observaberis, cum è Salmedinà brevi scopulosoque mari, in exitu portus sancti Lucæ ad Nagæ oram Tenerifiæ Insulæ navigare decreveris, tunc siquidem licet ad Liben seu Aphricum navem regere studeas Hydrographicæ chartæ observatione, rectus tamen itineris cursus nauticæ acus probabiliore fide per Aphricum quarta & eo amplius Austrum versus procul dubio erit, Salmedinæ nempe ad Nagam navigatio quarta longe minus quam Hydrographica charta indicat, nautica acus demonstrat. Unde pro comperto habebis, cum è Sacro promontorio oram solveris Septentriones petiturus, quod iter tuum erit per quartam Arcti Cæciam versus. Eodem modo si è Salmedina ad Nagan Tenerifiæ Insulæ adnavigaveris ad Aphricum, navis tuæ cursus erit per quartam Austri. Eadem ratione sigillatim uti poteris in quavis hujus discretionis parte acus magnetæ fricatæ variationem observans, qua cum Arcti sidere variè operatur, quippè quæ non assidue neque ex omnibus locis Septentrionem expetat (uti plebs indocta censet) cum Magnes lapis ille (ut patet) nullam habet vim dirigendi navigatoriam acum ex omni parte ad Arctum, quin potius (ut experientia constat) calibem volubilem immotum reddere recta linea, non autem circulari ad quemvis ventorum Arcto proximum, & hac de causa acus nautica usque variatur, nam si eadem acus assiduè ex omnibus locis verteretur ad Arctum, nulla fieret ejus variatio, utpote quæ per circularem lineam semper viam demonstraret, ex quo sequeretur, eundem æquedistantem seu parallelum frequentare, quod nullo modo continget recta linea circularem formam adeunti. Porrò unum

cion que la dicha aguja de marear haze con la estrella del Norte. hoc adnotabis, candide lector, quo magis ad Solem ortum vel occasum à linea meridionali secedes, ubi acus nauticæ depictum Lilium ad Arctum directè ostendit, eo magis ab Arcto te distare pro comperto habebis, unde satis liquet, acum nauticam rectè linea non autem circulari viam demonstrare. At notandum igitur est, quod linea meridionalis, quam nauticæ acus lilium rectissimè Septentriones ostendit, distat à Florum Insula triginta parasangis, quæ quidem ultima accipitrum Insula est occidentem versus, juxta peritissimorum omnium navium gubernatorum consensum, opinionemque, necnon ex eorum solerti experientia, quam diutina assiduaque navigatione suo jure profitentur, siguidem Athlanticum mare & Indicum indies remetiri assuescunt. Ad hæc Sebastianus Cabotus meus auctor, occidentalem Oceanum adnavigans, ad æquor quoddam devenit & plagam, ubi quarta parte Septentrionum juxta Cæciam ventus acus navigatoriæ Lilium illi rectissimè Arctum ostenderet, quibus de causis & rationibus & tutissima navigandi experentia apertissimè constat defectus & variationes acus nauticæ crebro fieri cum Arcti observatione.

## Plinio en el segundo libro, Capitulo lxxix escrive.

Nº 18. Que de la ciudad de Gadiz y de las colunnas de Hercules, con el circuitu de la Espanna y de la Galia, se navegó todo poniente. El Oceano Setentrional se navegó la mayor parte en el tiempo de Augusto, passando todo la Germania hasta el cabo de Cimbri, y desde aý fasta Scithia. Y de Oriente navegó por el mar Indico hazia Setentrion, fasta tener el mar Caspio al Sur, la armada de Macedonia, en el tiempo que Seleucio y Antiocho reynavan; y mandaron que aquella region se llamase Seleuchida y Antiochida. Y al Septentrion del mar Caspio muchas partes se an navegado; de manera que poco queda que todo el mar Septentrional no le ayan navegado. Y así mismo dize en el mismo capitulo, que Cornelio Nipote escrive que á Quinto Metello Celero, el qual fue consul con Afranio y entonces era Proconsul en la Galia, le fueron imbiados ciertos Indios del Rey de Suevi, los quales eran partidos del mar Indico, con fortuna transportados en Germania.

Nº 19. En estas islas Rocos ay aves de tal grandeza (segun dizen) y fuerça, que toman un boy [buey] y lo traien volando para comer; y mas dizen, que toman un batel por grande que sea, y lo levantan en grande altura, y despues lo dexan caer y comense los hombres. Y el Petrarcha semejantemente lo dize en su libro de prospera y adversa fortuna.

Nº 20. Ay en la ysla de los de Calenguan leones, tigres, honças, ciervos y otras muchas diversidades de animales; asi mismo ay aguilas y papagayos blancos, que hablan tan claro como personas lo que á ellos les es ensennado, y otras muchas aves syn numero de diversas faciones. La gente de la dicha isla son ydolatras; comen carne humana.

Nº 21. Halló esta isla de Mamorare una nao de Cambayo, y dizen aver tanto oro en ella que no cargaron otra cosa, segun dizen los portugueses.

Nº 22. En esta isla de Çeilan ay canela de nascimiento y rubíes, y iacintos, y ojos de gato y otros generos de piedras preciosas.

# [N. W. Quadrant of Map. 18 of Chytræus.]

Ciapangu es una isla grande situada en alto mar, la qual esta en 1500 milla apartada de la tierra firma del gran Can hazia oriente. Son ydolatras y gente de buena manera y hermosa; tiene rey proprio, libre, que á ninguno es tributario; tiene mucho oro de nascimiento, lo qual nunca se saca fuera de la dicha isla a causa que no aportan navios á

#### [S. E. Quadrant of map.]

His Rocorum insulis insunt quædam venatoriæ aves ac rapinæ deditæ adeo procero et ingenti corpore ut humi petentes bovem sursum abstrahentes praedam suis nidis afferant devoraturæ; eoque unguibus præpollent ut scapham seu cymbam quantumvis maximam arripientes ac in sublimem tollentes inde rursum deturbare soleant deorsum; gaudent præterea vesci carne hominum quemadmodum Petrarca refert libro qui de prospera et adversa fortuna inscribitur.

En Romance ve á tabla 2ª Nº 19.

Hac insula innumeri leones, tigrides, pantheræ, corvi¹ aliorumque diversorum animalium species, armentorum instar, depascunt: præterea aquilæ, psitaci albi, multaque variarum avium genera turmatim convolant. Hæc gens idola colit et carne hominum avide vescit.

En Romance ve á tabla 2ª Nº 20.

Hanc Hemorare insulam aperuit quædam (ut fertur) Cabierum navis, quam tot aurifodinis abundare perhibet ut navem ipsam solo auro oneraverint.

En Romance ve á tabla 2ª Nº 21.

## [N. E. Quadrant of map.]

Hac Ceilani insula ingens cinnami inde extracta provenit copia. Pluribus lapidibus, lunaribus, piropis, hiacintis, aliisque preciosis lapillis abundat.

En Romance ve á tabla 2ª Nº 22.

I Should be "cervi."

ella por estar tan apartada [y] fuera de camino. El rey desta isla tiene un palatio muy grande y muy maravilloso, todo cubierto de oro hecho de pasta, de grosura de dos reales; y las ventanas y colunnas deste palatio son todas de oro. Tienen piedras preciosas y perlas en mucha cantitad. El gran Can, oyda la fama de la riquesa desta dicha isla, quisola conquistar y embió á ella una grande armada y nunca la pudo soyuzoar [sojuzgar], segun Marco Polo mas largamente lo cuenta y dize en su libro, capitulo ciento y seis.

[The Latin of this is not on the map.]

## [S. W. Quadrant of Map. Not in Chytræus.]

En esta figura estense en plano se contienen todas las tierras, islas, puertos, rios, anglas, baxos, que hasta oy dia se han descubierto; y con sus nombres y quien fueron los descubridores dellas, como por las tablas desta dicha figura mas claramente consta; con todo lo demas que antes fue conoscido, y todo lo que por Ptholomeo ha zido escripto, como son: provincias, regiones, ciudades, montes, rios, climas y parallelos, por sus grados de longitud y latitud, assí de Europa como de Assia y Aphrica.

Y as de notar que la tierra está situada conforme á la variacion que haze el aguja del marear con la estrella del norte; la razon de lo qual podras ver en la tabla segunda del numero diez y siete.

[The Latin of this is immediately above it on the map.]

#### [S. E. Quadrant of Map. S. of Africa. Not in Chytræus.]

Del pescado que detrene una nao.

Plinio escrive en el su noveno libro, capitulo veinte y cinco, de un pescado que se dize Nichio, el qual dise ser como redondo y que pegandose á una nao la tiene aunque baya á la vela. Et Petrarca, en el prohemio del segundo libro de prospera y adversa fortuna, dize que el echenis o remora, pez de grandeza de medio pie detiene una nao

In hac protrahens in planum figura continetur totus terræ globus, insulæ, portus, flumina, sinus, syrtes, et brevia quæ hactenus aneotericis adaperta sunt, eorumque nomina et qui ea loca aperuere ut eisdem hujus figuræ tabulis liquidius patet; ad hæc omnium quæ a majoribus cognita sunt, necnon quæ à Ptholomeo referentur; regionum, sciliscet provinciarum, urbium, montium, fluviorum, climatum, parallelorumque, tam Europæ quam Asiæ, et Aphricæ exacta descriptio. Annotabis tamen, candide lector, situm hunc orbis terrarum depictum esse juxta variationem qua acus navatica utitur ad arctum septentrionalis, observationis cujus rationem perlegere poteris, tabula secunda decimi septimi numeri.

aunque sea muy grande y que los bientos y ondas y remos y velas le ayden á yr; el solo fuerça la fuerça de los elementos y hombres, no con otra obra ninguna, sino pegandose á las tablas del navio, ni con otra fuerça alguna, si no con sola su naturaleza; el qual pece es como limo¹ o cieno placandolo [y sacandolo] del agua pierde la fuerza. Hallase lo suso dicho en mui claras escripturas, las quales aquí no se ponen por no ser prolixo.

[No Latin on the map.]

1 limazon, a snail?

#### FIRST TABLE.

## Of the Admiral.

N: 1. The admiral Don Cristoval Colon, a Genoese by birth, offered to their Catholic Majesties of glorious memory to discover the islands and mainland of the Indies, by the west, provided they gave him for this purpose a sufficient *fleet* and favor; and having it, and having fitted out three caravels in the year 1492, he proceeded to discover them, and from that time on many other persons have continued the said discovery, as is shown by the present description.

Nº 2. In the island Española there is much virgin gold and very fine lapis-lazuli [blue copper ore?] and much sugar and cassia fistula, and an infinite number of cattle 3 of all kinds. The swine of this island they give to the sick, as here in our parts they give mutton. This said island contains many harbors, and very good ones, and the chief one of them is the city of Santo Domingo, which is a very good city and of much trade, and all the others are places built and settled by the Spaniards; and in the island of Cuba, and of San Juan, and in all the other islands, and on the mainland, virgin gold is found; and in the city of Santo Domingo his Majesty has his royal chancery, and in all the other towns and provinces governors and rulers who govern and rule them with much justice; and every day are discovered new lands and provinces, very rich, by means of which our Holy Catholic Faith is, and will be, much increased, and these kingdoms of Castile have become great with much glorious fame and riches.

Nº 3. This mainland which the Spaniards named New Spain, the most illustrious gentleman, Don Fernando Cortez, marquis del Valle de Guaxacon, conquered. There are in this land provinces and cities innumerable: the

- 1 the western islands and mainland of the Indies.
- <sup>2</sup> if they provided him sufficiently with the things needful to him.
- 8 and flocks.
- 4 [In the Latin version the last clause of this sentence comes first.]
- 5 and norts
- 6 all these places are filled with many inhabitants.
- 7 cities and islands.
- 8 rather by the reason and integrity of the laws than by arbitrary will.
- 9 and conquered.

chief of them is the city of Mexico, which contains more than fifty thousand inhabitants; it is in a salt lake which extends over forty leagues. There is in the said city, and in all the other provinces, much gold, virgin silver, and all kinds of precious stones; and there is produced in the said land and provinces much very good silk, and cotton, alum, orchil, dyewood, cochineal, and saffron, and sugar,2 of all the aforesaid great quantities, with which many ships come loaded to these kingdoms of Spain.8 The natives of this land are very expert in all that relates to trade; instead of coins, they make use of certain kernels, split in halves, which they call cacao, or cacanghnate, a barbarous expression.- They have much wheat and barley, and many other grains, and vines, and many fruits of different kinds. It is a land of many animals, deer, mountain boars, lions, leopards, tigers, and much other game, both birds and land animals. It is a people 5 very skilful in moulding any object after nature, and in painting pictures. The women usually adorn themselves with precious stones and valuable pearls. These Indians use a certain kind of paper, on which they draw what they wish to express with figures [pictures] instead of letters. never had peace among themselves; on the contrary, some persecuted others in continuous fights in which the prisoners on either side were sacrificed by their enemies to their gods, and their dead bodies were given to the army, as public banquets. They were idolaters, and adored whatever took their fancy; they were very fond of eating human flesh, whereas now they have laid aside these fierce and cruel customs, and have clad themselves in Jesus Christ, believing heartily in our holy evangelical faith, and obeying our most holy mother 7 church and its most holy precepts.

No. 4. This strait of All Saints was discovered by Hernando de Magallanes, captain of an expedition which his Sacred Cæsarean Catholic Majesty, the emperor and king Don Carlos, our lord, ordered to be made to discover the Maluco islands. There are in this strait men of such great stature that they seem giants; it is a very desolate land, and they dress themselves in the skins of animals. 10

Nº 5. These islands of Maluco <sup>11</sup> were discovered by Fernando de Magallanes, commander of <sup>12</sup> an expedition which his <sup>18</sup> Majesty ordered to be made to discover the <sup>14</sup> said islands, and by Juan Sebastian del Canno; <sup>15</sup> that is to say, the said Fernando de Magallanes discovered the strait of All Saints, which <sup>16</sup> is in 52½ degrees towards the Antarctic pole; and <sup>17</sup> after

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1 is called Mexico by the name of the Indians.
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<sup>2</sup> or juice of the cane.

7 orthodox Catholic.

<sup>3</sup> to Seville of Andalusia.

8 fifth of the name.

4 by the barbarous Indian name.

9 and with few inhabitants.

5 very learned and.

10 only.

6 and the religion of the Christians.

11 long closed to us.

12 his royal Spanish fleet.

18 His Sacred Cæsarean Catholic Majesty the Emperor Charles, fifth of the

14 these very rich islands of the Indies.

15 which said expedition set sail from the port of Seville, a famed city of the province of Andalusia.

16 measuring from the Equator to the Antarctic.

17 seeking the aforesaid islands.

having passed the said strait, [and not] without very great labor and danger, he continued his journey towards the said islands; after many days he arrived at certain islands of which the southern one is situated in 12 degrees, and because the people were so turbulent, and because they stole from him the boat of one of his ships, they gave it the name of the isle of thieves (de los Ladrones); and thence continuing his journey, as has been said, they discovered an island, which they called la Aguada, because they took in water there; and from thence on they discovered another, which is called Bunham, and Aceilani, and another, which is called Cubu, in which island died the said Captain Hernando de Magallanes, in a skirmish which took place with the natives thereof, and the survivors of the said expedition chose Juan Sebastian del Canno as commander of it, who afterwards discovered the island of Bendanao, in which there is much virgin gold, and very fine cinnamon; and in the same way he discovered the island of Poloan, and that of Brunay, and that of Gilolo, and the island of Tridore, and that of Terenati, and Motil, and many others in which there is much gold, and cloves, and nutmeg, and other kinds of spices and drugs. The said Sebastian del Canno loaded two ships which 2 remained to him out of five which they took with them, with cloves in the said island of Tidori, for in it, and in the said island of Terenati, the said cloves are said to grow, and not in any other, and in the same way he took much cinnamon and nutmeg;3 and coming on through the Indian Ocean,4 in the direction of the Cape of Good Hope, one ship was forced to put back and return to the said island of Tidori, from which it had set out, on account of the great amount of water which it was making, and the said Captain Juan Sebastian del Canno with his ship, called St. Mary of Victory (Sancta Maria de la Victoria), came to these kingdoms of Castile, to the city of Seville, in the year 1522, by the Cape of Good Hope; so that it clearly appears that the said Juan Sebastian del Canno sailed round the whole universe,5 because he proceeded only towards the West, although not on one parallel, through the East to the place in the West whence he set out.

Nº 6. These provinces were discovered <sup>6</sup> by the honored and valiant gentleman, <sup>7</sup> Francisco Pizarro, who <sup>6</sup> was governor of them during his life; in which there is infinite gold and virgin silver and mines of very fine emeralds. The bread which they have they make of <sup>9</sup> maize, and the wine likewise; they have much wheat and other grain. It is a warlike race; they use in their wars bows and slings and lances; their arms are of gold and silver. There are in the said provinces certain sheep of the form of small camels; they have very fine wool. They are an idolatrous people, and of very subtle mind; <sup>10</sup> and on all the sea-coast, and for more than twenty

- <sup>1</sup> north latitude. <sup>2</sup> which he had saved from shipwreck.
- 3 much cinnamon and nutmeg is collected in Bendanao, of which likewise he took thence great quantities.
  - 4 to Spain, and hastening to double the Cape.
  - <sup>5</sup> in a circle. <sup>6</sup> and conquered.
  - 7 knights Francisco Pizarro and Almagro.
  - <sup>8</sup> that is, Francisco Pizarro.
  - 9 very large corn, which, in the language of the Indians, is called maize.
- 10 [In the Latin version the statement that "They are an idolatrous people, and of very subtle mind," follows immediately after "It is a warlike race."]

miles inland it never rains. It is a very healthy land. The Christians have made many settlements in it, and continually keep increasing them.

No 7. The Indians call this great river the river Huruai, in Spanish the river of silver (Rio de la Plata). They take this name from the river Huruai, which is a very mighty river 1 which runs into the great river Parana. Juan Diaz de Solis, pilot-major of their <sup>2</sup> Catholic Majesties <sup>3</sup> of glorious memory, discovered it, and he explored it as far as an island, to which the said Juan Diaz gave the name of the island of Martin Garcia, because in it he buried a sailor who was called Martin Garcia, which said island is about thirty leagues above the mouth of this river; and the said discovery cost him very dear, for the Indians of the said land slew him and ate him; and after many years had gone by it was again discovered by Sebastian Cabot. Captain and Pilot-major 4 of his Sacred Casarean Catholic Majesty the Emperor Don Carlos Fifth of the name, and king, our lord, who was commander of an expedition which his Majesty ordered should be made to discover Tarsis and Ophir 5 and Oriental Cathay; which said Captain Sebastian Cabot came to this river by chance, for the commander's ship, in which he was, was lost, 6 and seeing that he could not continue his said voyage, he determined to explore with the people he had with him the said river, by reason of the very great account which the Indians of the land gave him of the very great wealth in gold and silver which there was in the land, and not without very great labor and hunger, and dangers both of his own person and of those who were with him. And 8 the said 9 Captain endeavored to make near the said river certain settlements of the people whom he brought from Spain. 10 This river is larger than any that is known up to the present time. Its breadth at the mouth where it enters the sea is thirty-five 11 leagues, and three hundred leagues above the said mouth it is two leagues in breadth. The cause of its being so great and mighty is that there run into it many other and mighty rivers. It is a river infinitely full of fish and of the best there is in the world. The people, on arriving in that land, wished to learn if it were fertile and fit to plough and raise bread; and they planted in the month of September fifty-two grains of wheat, - for there was no more in the ships, - and they gathered soon in the month of December fifty-two thousand grains of wheat; and this same fertility was found in all the other seeds.12

- 1 into which runs.
- <sup>2</sup> conquering and.
- 3 Ferdinand and Isabel.
- 4 most skilful in the art of navigation and of astronomy.
- <sup>5</sup> Ciapangu and Eoicatai. <sup>6</sup> being buried in the stormy waves.
- <sup>7</sup> [In the Latin version the last clause, beginning "and not without very great labor," precedes the clause beginning "by reason of."]
  - 8 Whorefore

- 9 most energetic.
- <sup>10</sup> and to build certain citadels and forts by which the Spanish inhabitants could easily be protected and could thence repel the attacks of their Indian enemies.
  - 11 twenty-five.
- 12 This extraordinary statement as to the productiveness of a grain of wheat in the country of the La Plata is repeated in the Latin version of this section. It is probably an inadvertence. Eden, who copied this section from Cabot's map, in a free English version, into his "Decades of the New World," London, 1555, pp. 317-319, corrects the error, but on what authority, except his own knowledge of natural history, we do not know. He makes the text read thus: "Taking,

Those who live in that land say that not far from there, in the country inland, there are certain great mountain-ranges from which they take infinite gold, and further on in the same mountains they take infinite silver. There are in this land certain sheep large as ordinary asses, of the shape of camels, except that the wool they bear is fine as silk, and other animals of different kinds. The people of the country differ very much; for those who live on the slopes of the mountains are white like us, and those who are near the banks of the river are dark. Some say that in the said mountains there are men who have faces like dogs, and others are from the knee down like ostriches, and that these are great workers, and that they raise much maize, of which they make bread and wine. Many other things they say of that land, which are not put down here lest they be tedious. 1

Nº 8. This land was discovered by Juan Cabot, a Venetian, and by Sebastian Cabot, his son, in the year of the birth of our Saviour Jesus Christ 1494, on the 24th of June, in the morning, to which they gave the name of "first land seen" (prima tierra vista); and to a large island which is situated along the said land they gave the name San Juan, because it had been discovered the same day. The people of it are dressed in the skins of animals. They use in their wars bows and arrows, lances and darts, and certain clubs of wood, and slings. It is a very sterile land. There are in it many white bears, and very large stags like horses, and many other animals; and likewise there is infinite fish, — sturgeons, salmon, very large soles a yard in length, and many other kinds of fish, — and the greatest quantity of them is called (baccallaos) codfish; and likewise there are in the same land hawks black as crows, eagles, partridges, linnets, and many other kinds of birds of different species.

Nº 9. In this same island of Iceland (Islanda) there is a great quantity of fish. They take it in winter, and dry it by means of the very great cold which there is there, because this said island is within the Arctic circle, and in summer men 7 go there from many parts and barter for this fish, thus dried, in exchange for meal and beer; and this said fish is so dry and hard, that to eat it they beat it with certain hammers of iron on certain stones hard as marble, and then they put it to soak a day or two, and thus they eat it, stewed with butter. And in all this Northern sea there is a very great quantity of fish, and many of them large and of monstrous shape; those who sail in these seas have seen very large lampreys, which resemble great serpents and [have seen them] attack ships, in order to eat the sailors. The natives of the said island most of them build their houses underground, and the walls of fish-bones. They have no wood.

therefore, fifty grains of wheat and committing the same to the earth in the month of September they gathered thereof two thousand and fifty at December next following." Eden then proceeds: "Wherein some being deceived and mistaking the thing, have written in the stead of two thousand and fifty, fifty thousand and two."—Note by Mr. Deane.

- <sup>1</sup> [In the Latin version the last sentence follows immediately after "infinite silver," and is itself followed by the clause beginning "and that these are great workers."]
  - <sup>2</sup> 24 July, at the fifth hour, about daybreak.
  - 8 on the solemn festival of St. John.

4 lions.

<sup>5</sup> by the common people.

- 6 dark.
- 7 Englishmen, Germans, and the inhabitants of various other regions.

except some extremely small trees, and of these very few and in few places; but the Provider of all things provides every year that there comes to them by sea, on the northern parts of the said island, a very great quantity of trees of different kinds and sizes, as driftwood, borne by furious north winds to the coast of the said island, with which the natives provide themselves, and make use of it for all that is needful to them. And they say that often they hear spirits speak and call each other by name, and take the form of living persons, and tell them who they are; and in certain parts of the said island there rise up¹ certain very dreadful fires, and other wonders² the natives of the said island say there are in it.³

No 10. The men who dwell in this region are savages, they are destitute of bread and wine, they tame deer and ride upon them, and they fight with another people which is situated farther to the north, and which they call the Nocturnal people, for they go about in the night and perform their business as here [we do] in the day, and this because the days there from the 14th of September to the 10th of March are so short that there is not an hour of light. They are a very wicked people, quarrelsome, they rob all those who pass [through their country] so that no ship dares to ride at anchor near the coast for fear of these night people, because they slay and rob all who fall into their hands; and a little beyond these night people toward the southeast they say there are certain monsters which have bodies like those of human beings except the head, which is like that of a pig, and that they understand one another, grunting like pigs.

 $N^{\circ}$  11. Those who inhabit this region, some adore the sun, others the first thing they see in the morning, others adore a piece of colored cloth which they place on a lance, and thus each worships what he prefers: they are under the sway of the great Khan, emperor of the Tartars.

Nº 12. Here there are monsters like unto men who have ears so large that they cover the whole body, and they say that farther on towards the East there are certain men who have no joints whatever at the knees nor in the feet: they are under the sway of the grand Khan. In the province of Balor, which is fifty days' journey in extent, there are wild men; they live in the mountains and forests.

Nº 13. Here dwells that mighty king of Aziumba and Auxama whom some call Prester John, to whom sixty kings yield obedience; he is very wealthy in all riches, and there is no record that he was ever defeated in any battle, but often has he come back with glorious victory from the south from the Throglodyte people, a race naked and black, which people extends as far as the Cape of Good Hope. Among which people there is a race which does not speak but they understand each other by whistling; and this is not Prester John, because Prester John had his empire in eastern and southern India until Genghis Khan, first king of the Tartars, defeated and overcame him in a very cruel battle, in which he died and the said Genghis took from him all his kingdoms and lordships, and allowed

<sup>1</sup> fire, dreadful to be seen, rises of itself, and is thrown up and whirled away to a distance.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> both to be seen and heard <sup>3</sup> which for the sake of brevity are omitted.

<sup>4</sup> live in the desert and are entirely wild.

<sup>5</sup> surpassing by his wealth the most fortunate lot of these most powerful kings.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> It is easy to prove that this one is hardly the real Prester John.

the Christians to live in their own faith, and gave them a Christian king to rule and govern them, which king was called George, and from that time till now all the kings who succeed him are called George, as Marco Polo relates more at large in the 42nd and 48th chapters of his book.<sup>1</sup>

Nº 14. The king of this province and kingdom of Bengal is a very mighty lord, and has under his rule many cities, very large and of great trade.2 There is in this kingdom and province much cinnamon, cloves, ginger, pepper, sandalwood, lacquer, and silk in great quantities. They are wont 8 in this province and kingdom to burn bodies after death, and when the husband dies before the wife, the wife burns herself alive with her husband, saying that she is going to be happy with him in the other world, and it is done in this way, that, the husband dying, the wife gives a great entertainment and dresses herself in the richest garments she has, to which entertainment come all her relatives and those of her husband, and after having eaten, she goes with all the people to a place where a very great fire has been built, singing and dancing until she reaches the said fire, and then they throw in the dead body of the husband, and at once she bids farewell to her relatives and friends and leaps into the fire, and she who most nobly throws herself into the fire brings most honor upon her family; but even now this custom is not observed as it used to be, since the Portuguese have traded with them and given them to understand that our Lord God is not served by such a practice.

Nº 15. The grand Khan of the Tartars is a very great lord and very mighty, he is called King of Kings and Lord of Lords: he is wont to give to his liegemen garments thirteen times a year, at thirteen very great feasts which he holds each year; and these garments are of greater or less value according to the quality of the person to whom they are given, and to each one is given a 4 belt and leggings, a hat adorned with gold and pearls and precious stones according to the greatness of the personage, and these garments which the said grand Khan gives each year are 156,000; and this he does to give greatness and magnificence to his feasts, and when he dies they bear him to be buried to a mountain which is called Alcay, where are buried the grand Khans, Emperors of the Tartars, and those who bear him to burial slay all those they find, saying to them go and serve our master in the other world; and in the same way they slay all his horses, camels, and baggagemules which they have, thinking that they will go to serve their lord. When Mongui Khan, Emperor of the Tartars, died, there were slain three hundred thousand men, whom those who bore him to burial met on the way, as Marco Polo says in his book, chapter 42.5 Poggio the Florentine, secretary of Pope Eugenius IV., towards the end of his second book, which he wrote on the variation and changes of Fortune, does much to confirm what the said Marco Polo wrote in his book.

Nº 16. There are various opinions as to what is Trapovana, since the

<sup>1</sup> in the second and third chapters of his fortieth book.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> and he is bound with extremely close bonds with the ever victorious king of Portugal, with whom he has made a perpetual treaty of peace, by means of which he receives immense quantities of.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Were wont, they say.

<sup>4</sup> belts, leggings, shoes, helmets or shade hats [cf. Marco Polo].

<sup>5</sup> in the twenty-fourth chapter of his fourth book.

<sup>6</sup> and where it is situated.

Spaniards and Portuguese have navigated the Indian Ocean. How Ptolemy places it in degrees of latitude and longitude I think is well known to all. Some modern explorers hold that the island of Ceylon is Trapovana; others hold that it is the island of Sumatra. Pliny writes of Trapovana in his sixth book, chapter 22, and says there was a time when the opinion was held that Trapovana was another world, and that it was called Antichton, and that Alexander was the first to inform us that it was an island, and that Onesechritus, admiral of his fleet, [says] that in the said island of Trapovana there are larger and more warlike elephants than in India, and that Magasaene gives as its length seven thousand stadia, and as its width five thousand; that there is no walled city in it, but seven hundred villages, and that in Claudius' reign 2 ambassadors came from the said island to Rome. In this way: the freedman Damius Plocamius, who had bought of the republic<sup>3</sup> the taxes of the Red Sea and sailing around Arabia was carried by the north wind in such a way that on the fifteenth day he entered a port of the said island called Hipnus,4 and was very generously received and treated by the king, and that after having remained in the said island six months he learned the language, and that one day talking with the king he told him that the Romans and their Emperor were incredibly just, and that the king, seeing that the coins which the said freedman had were of equal weight although the stamp showed that they were of different emperors, moved by this, sent ambassadors to Rome, the chief of whom was Rachia, to make friendship with Claudius, from which ambassadors he heard that in the said island there were five hundred cities, and that the said ambassadors were astonished to see in these heavens of ours the north star and the Pleiades as something new and to them unknown, and that they said that in the said island they only saw the moon above the earth from the eighth day to the fifteenth, and they were especially astonished that shadows turned 5 towards our sky and not 6 towards theirs, and that the sun rose on the right and set on the left, from which aforesaid reasons it seems that in the said island where the said freedman made harbor the north star is not . seen, which is seen in the island Trapovana, whence it might be said, considering whence the said freedman Damius Proclamius started and the course he might have made with a raging north wind,7 that the island where he made harbor was the island of San Lorenzo and not Trapubana. And that as king of the said island an old and mild man without children is usually elected, and if after being elected he should beget any, at once they depose him; and when they elect him they give him thirty counsellors; and that the said king can condemn no one if the majority of his said thirty counsellors are not agreed with him, and that afterwards the said condemned man can appeal to the people, which thereupon selects seventy judges, who examine his case, and if they find that he was wrongly sentenced they set him free, and those counsellors who agreed in condemning him are deprived of their offices and are held infamous forever after.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> [What follows is not taken from the text of Pliny, but is translated directly from the Spanish.]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> about the beginning of his government. <sup>8</sup> the Romans.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Hippurus [cf. Pliny]. 
<sup>5</sup> to the right towards our pole.

<sup>6</sup> when in their country they saw them always go the left.

<sup>7</sup> and the narration of the envoys to Tiberius.

Inscription of the author with certain reasons for the variation which the needle of the compass makes with the north star.

Nº 17. Sebastian Cabot, captain and pilot-major of his Sacred Cæsarean Catholic Majesty, the Emperor Don Carlos, fifth of the name, and King, our lord, made 2 this figure projected on a plane in the year of the birth of our Saviour Jesus Christ 1544, drawn by degrees of latitude and longitude, with its winds, as a navigating chart, imitating in part Ptolemy and in part the modern discoverers both Spanish and Portuguese, and 5 partly discovered by his father and partly by himself, by which you may navigate as by a navigating chart, bearing in mind the variation which the needle of the compass makes with the north star. For example, you wish to set out from Cape St. Vincent in order to make Cape Finisterre; you will give orders to steer your ship to the north according to the needle of the compass, and you will strike within the said cape, but your real course, which your ship made, was to the north, quarter northeast because your compassneedle northeasts you a quarter at the said Cape of St. Vincent, so that commanding your ship to be steered north by the compass-needle, your course will be north, quarter northeast; and in the same way sailing from Salmedina, which is a shoal as you go out of San Lucar de Barrameda, to go to the point of Naga on the island of Teneriffe you will give orders to steer southwest by the needle and you will make the said point of Naga because it is situated on the navigating chart, but your course will not be to the southwest inasmuch as your compass-needle northeasts you a wide quarter point at Salmedina, but your course will be southwest, a wide quarter south; so that you may say that sailing from St. Vincent to the north your course will be north, quarter northeast, and sailing from Salmedina to the southwest your course will be southwest, quarter south, and so consequently you will do in every other part of this universe, watching the variation which the said needle of the compass makes with the north star, for the said needle does not turn or stay fixed to the north in every place, as the vulgar think, since the magnet-stone, as it appears, has not the power to make it turn to the north in every place, but, as is seen and acquired by experience, it has only the power to make it remain stable and fixed in one place, wherefore it must point necessarily in a straight line whatever wind you may have, and not in a curved line, and this cause brings about the said variation; for if the needle were to turn to the north always and in every place, there would be no variation, for then it would follow a curved line, because you would always be on one parallel, which cannot be when you go in a straight line on a sphere; and you must notice that the further you move from the meridian on which the needle points directly north, towards the west or east, so much the more will your compass move from the north, that is, from the flower-de-luce in it which marks the north: wherefore it

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> of Spain. <sup>2</sup> laid the last touch to me (this map).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> so wisely, so exactly. <sup>4</sup> the Geographer.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> and likewise the experience and labors of the long nautical life of the most honest man John Cabot, a Venetian by birth; and the knowledge of the stars and of the art of navigation of Sebastian his most learned son and my author, who discovered some part of the world which had long been unknown to us.

clearly appears that the said needle points along a straight line and not a curved line; and you must know that the meridian where the flower-de-luce of the needle points directly north is about thirty-five leagues from Flores, the last island of the Azores towards the west, according to the opinion of certain experts, because of the great experience which they have of this, on account of the daily navigation which is made toward the West, to the Indies of the Ocean. The said Sebastian Cabot, sailing towards the west, found himself in a place where northeast quarter north [of the compass] stood directly north, on account of which observations aforesaid it appears clearly that defects and variations which the said needle of the compass makes with the north star really exist.

## Pliny in the second book, chapter 79,4 writes:

No 18. That from Cadiz and the columns of Hercules, sailing around Spain and Gaul, the whole west was sailed over. The greater part of the northern ocean was sailed over in the time of Augustus, passing by all Germany as far as the Cimbrian Cape, and thence as far as Scythia. And from the East the fleet of Macedonia sailed along the Indian Ocean towards the north until the Caspian Sea was to the south of them, in the time that Seleucus and Antiochus reigned, and they ordered that that region should be called Seleuchida and Antiochida. And to the north of the Caspian many parts have been sailed over, so that the northern sea has been nearly all sailed over: and he likewise says, in the same chapter, that Cornelius Nepos writes that to Quintus Metellus Celer, who had been consul with Afranius, and who was then proconsul in Gaul, there were sent certain Indians by the king of the Suevi, who, starting from the Indian Ocean, had without mischance been carried to Germany.

Nº 19.5 In these Rocos islands there are birds of such size (as they say) and strength that they take up an ox and bear it in their flight in order to eat it, and still more they say that they take a vessel, no matter how great it may be, and raise it to a great height and then let it drop, and they eat the men. Petrarch likewise says so in his book of Prosperous and Adverse Fortune.

Nº 20. There are in the island of the people of Calenguan lions, tigers, panthers, deer, and many other different kinds of animals; likewise there are eagles, and white parrots who speak as clearly as human beings what is taught them, and many other countless birds of various kinds. The people of the island are idolaters; they eat human flesh.

- 1 thirty.
- 2 my author.
- 8 came to a sea and shore.
- <sup>4</sup> [Pliny, lib. 2, cap. 67. There is no Latin for this on the map. In Chytræus, where it is numbered 19, the Latin is copied directly from Pliny, l. c., and not translated from the Spanish.]
- <sup>5</sup> [The Latin of Nos. 19, 20, and 21 is in the S. E. quadrant of the map. It ends in each case with a reference in Spanish to the Spanish of the tables.]
  - 6 to their nests.
  - 7 their talons are so strong.

Nº 21. A ship from Cambaya discovered this island of Mamorare, and it is said there was so much gold in it that they loaded it with nothing else, according to what the Portuguese say.

No 22.1 There are in this island of Ceylon native cinnamon, and rubies and hyacinths and cats' eyes and other kinds of precious stones.

Ciapangu is a large island lying in the high seas, which island is one thousand five hundred miles distant from the mainland of the Grand Khan towards the east. They are idolaters, and a gentle and handsome race. It has an independent king of its own, who is tributary to no one. It contains much virgin gold, which is never taken away from the said island, because ships never touch there, as it is so distant and out of the way. The king of this island has a very great and very wonderful palace, all made of gold in ingots of the thickness of two reals, and the windows and columns of the palace are all of gold. It [the island] contains precious stones and pearls in great quantities. The Grand Khan, having heard the fame of the riches of this said island, desired to conquer it, and sent to it a great fleet, and could never conquer it, as Marco Polo more amply relates and tells in his book, chapter 106.

## [S. W. Quadrant of Map.]

In this figure, projected on a plane, are contained all the lands, islands, ports, rivers, waters, bays, which have been discovered to the present day, and their names, and who were the discoverers of them, as is made more manifest by the inscriptions [tables] of this said figure, — with all the rest that was known before, and all that has been written by Ptolemy, such as provinces, regions, cities, mountains, rivers, climates, and parallels, according to their degrees of longitude and latitude, both of Europe and of Asia and Africa.

And you must note that the land is situated according to the variation which the needle of the compass makes with the north star, for the reason of which you may look in the second table of No. 17.

## [S. E. Quadrant of Map.]

## Of the fish which stops a ship.

Pliny writes in his ninth book, chapter twenty-five, of a fish which is called Nichio, which he describes as being round, and that attaching itself to a ship it holds it even though it be under sail. And Petrarch, in the preface to the second book of Prosperous and Adverse Fortune, says that the echenis or remora, a fish of half a foot in length, stops a ship, though it be very large, and winds and waves and oars and sails aid its course; it alone overpowers the power of the elements and of man, with no other agency save attaching itself to the planks of the ship, and with no other force than its own nature; which fish is like mud or mire, and taking it out of the water it loses its power. The aforesaid is found in very distinguished writings, which are not quoted here lest it take too much space.

## <sup>1</sup> Latin in N. E. quadrant of map.

Mr. Smith also communicated a letter which he had recently received from Mr. Winsor, giving an account of the manuscripts relating to America in the library of the Archbishop of Canterbury at Lambeth. Mr. Winsor writes: "I spent several hours to-day at Lambeth looking at the manuscripts which pertained to America. They are not valuable, and touch for the most part the movements to establish and maintain Episcopacy in the Colonies, the opening of colleges at New York and Philadelphia in the interest of the Establishment, and the doings of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel." The press marks or volumes indicated by Mr. Winsor as containing American papers are 841.7; 711.17; 688.19; 1123; 954,38; 250; and 1025.3; and he gives a detailed account of many of the papers contained in them. those which he describes have been printed in Perry's "Historical Collections relating to the American Colonial Church" or elsewhere. Mr. Winsor adds: "I also looked at the Lambeth copy of Smith's General History, 1624 ed. It is a perfeetly fresh copy, on large paper, with maps on thick paper. bound in calf, with gilt arms of Archbishop Abbott, on both sides. There are no contemporary manuscript notes in it; but there is a long one, July 2, 1879, in pencil, by Henry Stevens, in which he speaks of other large paper copies: Eton College Library; University Library at Cambridge, England; Grenville Library, British Museum. He puts in the same category two copies now in America, - the Aspinwall copy, later the Barlow copy, since sold; the Brinley copy, sold to Brinley by Stevens, and now in the Lenox Library, since 1879."

Dr. Samuel A. Green made the following remarks: —

I hold in my hand, Mr. President, a manuscript closely connected with the Historical Society and of a centennial character, which makes it doubly interesting at the present time. It is an old subscription paper, signed by members of the Society and others, agreeing to celebrate the Two Hundredth Anniversary of the Settlement of Boston, on September 17, 1830, by a dinner. The manuscript belongs to Col. William W. Clapp, through whose kindness and courtesy I am enabled to show it at this meeting. The paper was signed by one hundred and eighteen subscribers, of whom

thirty-three, either at that time or afterward, belonged to the Society, which was more than one half of its membership, as then constituted. It contains the names of four gentlemen who have been Presidents of the Society, and of two who have been Vice-Presidents; of four who have been Librarians; of two each, who have been Corresponding Secretaries or Cabinet-keepers, and of one each, who has been Treasurer or Recording Secretary.

With a few exceptions all the signatures are autographs; and they present an array of distinguished names such as could hardly be surpassed at any period in the annals of the city.

The dinner took place at the Exchange Coffee House, where it was largely attended, though the party was much smaller in numbers than at the dinner given by the city in Faneuil Hall, on the same occasion.

Of all these subscribers who met more than sixty years ago to commemorate the event, only one remains, and he is our senior associate member. May his presence here to-day be an omen for the success and prosperity of the Historical Society during the second century of its existence!

The paper reads as follows: -

The Members of the Massachusetts Historical Society, and other individuals, whose names are subscribed to this paper, hereby associate themselves, for the purpose of commemorating the Settlement of Boston, by a Dinner, on the 17th instant.

September 13th, 1830.

Jn° Davis
Tho! L. Winthrop
Jas. Savage
Jas. Bowdoin by J. S.
Jno Pickering
D. Webster, by I. P. D.
I. P. Davis
N. G. Snelling
H. G. Otis
P. O. Thacher
N. Appleton
Sam' Appleton

P. T. Jackson

Francis J. Oliver
Rob! G. Shaw by O.
Geo: Ticknor
Josiah Quincy Jr
David Sears
A. H. Everett
W<sup>m</sup> H. Sumner
W<sup>m</sup> Sturgis by Judge Davis
Leverett Saltonstall by I. P.
Davis
Thomas B Wales
Isaac Stevens
W G Hewes

Francis Coffin

W<sup>m</sup> P. Mason

Wm Lawrence

W<sup>m</sup> H Bordman

Charles Sprague

John Lamson

Winslow Lewis

Nathan Hale

James C. Merrill

Charles G. Loring

B T Pickman

T C Smith by B T P

J. F. Priest

Jas B Richardson

Isaac Danforth

Thomas Emmons

Parker H. Pierce

Geo Lane

J: Eveleth

P Perrin

L. Meriam

L. Brigham by L. M.

Will<sup>m</sup> T. Andrews

Wm C Aylwin

Willard Phillips

Jos. T. Buckingham

Wm Hayden Jr

Redford Webster

H. G Rice

Benj Pollard

John Pierpont

E. Bailey

Geo. Hayward

John G. Palfrey

Benj. Russell

S F McCleary

Sam. T. Armstrong

W W Sever

Josiah Sturgis

John G. King - by J. C. M.

Benjamin Merrill by J. C. M.

Moses Williams

Grenville Temple Winthrop

James Read (by C S.)

Francis Parkman, by W H.

H. A. S. Dearborn, by W H.

Jno: B. Davis

Tho' Wetmore

R. C. Winthrop

Edw<sup>d</sup> Everett

Robt Trueman

J. C. Gray

Col. Perkins for himself

& Doct Pierce by I. P D.

Col. S. Swett

J. Coolidge jun!

Geo: Blake

Amos Lawrence

Abbott Lawrence

Benj Winslow

D Sargent

A. Young Jr. (Rev.) by O

William Parker

John S. Wright

W. P. Gragg

Benjamin Rich

Edwin Buckingham

Edward Codman

Rev. Mr Peabody

O. W. B. Peabody

Chs: Cushing Paine

William Parker, State St

John L. Dimmock

Joseph Russell

John Gray

I. P. Davis, for a friend

Benja Adams — by S. F. M.

Dr John Homans

Silas Bullard

Thomas Motley

George Howe by I. F. P.

Richard Cobb

Nathaniel Amory

Mr McAlister

Rev: Andrew Bigelow

Mr Hutchinson, by G. Tick-

nor

Dudley L. Pickman

Joseph Willard
Charles Folsom
M' [Joseph E.?] Worcester.

M<sup>r</sup>. Blunt M<sup>r</sup> Van Rensaleer Abbot Lawrence, for a friend.

[Names of the Members of the Society are printed in Italics.]

Dr. Green added a supplement to the Centennial Bibliography presented by him at the last meeting of the Society. It contains a list of titles, for the most part published at an early date, which have appeared in the Collections and been reprinted afterward in various places from original editions, or which have a close connection with the Society's publications. The list is as follows:—

New-Englands Plantation. Or, a short and true Description of the Commodities and Discommodities of that countrey. Written in the year 1629, by Mr. Higgeson, . . . Reprinted from the third edition, London, 1630. [Coll. I. 117-124.]

New England's First Fruits. . . . [London, 1643.] [Coll. I. 242-250.]

The pamphlet, of which this is the second part, was reprinted as No. VII. of Sabin's Reprints (New York, 1865), Quarto Series.

This also appears in Young's "Chronicles of the First Planters of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay" (Boston, 1846), pp. 242-259; and a reprint of the first edition is found in Force's "Tracts and other Papers" (Washington, 1836), Vol. I. No. 12.

An Historical Account of the Settlement of Brookfield, in the county of Worcester, and its distresses during the Indian wars. Extracted from a discourse delivered on the last day of the year 1775, by the Rev. Nathan Fiske, D.D. Pastor of the third church in that town; and corrected by the author. [Coll. I. 257-271.]

This was taken largely from "A Sermon preached at Brookfield on the Last Day of the Year 1775. Together with some Marginal Notes, &c." (Boston, 1776), pp. 31, v. The sermon was reprinted at West Brookfield in 1860.

A Key into the Language of America: Or an Help to the Language of the Natives, in that part of America, called New England. Together with brief Observations of the Customs, Manners, and Worships, &c. of the aforesaid Natives, in Peace and War, in Life and Death. By Roger Williams of Providence in New England. [London, 1643.] [Coll. III. 203-240; V. 80-106.]

This also appears in the Collections of the Rhode Island Historical Society (Providence, 1827), Vol. I. pp. 17-163, (1), printed from a manuscript copy of the original work in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, England. The manuscript was "carefully compared" with the printed volume in the Library of the Massachusetts Historical Society. A reprint is found in the "Publications of the Narragansett Club" (Providence, 1866), Vol. I. pp. 77-281.

An Abstract of the Laws of New-England, as they are now established. London, 1641. [Coll. V. 173-187.]

This also appears in Force's "Tracts and other Papers" (Washington, 1844), Vol. III. No. 9.

A Relation or Journal of the beginning and proceedings of the English Plantation settled at Plimoth in New England. . . . London, 1622. [Coll. VIII. 203-239.]

This abridgment, with notes by James Freeman, was printed in the Collections for 1802, from that portion of the original edition which appears in "Pvrchas his Pilgrimes" (London, 1625), fourth part, pp. 1842–1853. The portion omitted by Purchas was printed in the Collections, second series, Vol. IX. pp. 26–73, from a manuscript copy, of the edition of 1622 in the City Library of Philadelphia, furnished to the Historical Society by Peter S. Du Ponceau in the year 1819. The "Relation" appears as an abstract in "the sixth booke" of Smith's "General Historie," but it is given entire in Young's "Chronicles of the Pilgrim Fathers of the Colony of Plymouth" (Boston, 1841), pp. 109–249, and also in the several editions with historical notes, by the Rev. George B. Cheever, D.D. An edition was published (Boston, 1865), with copious Notes and an Introduction by the Rev. Henry M. Dexter, D.D.

Good Newes from New England: A True Relation of Things very remarkable at the Plantation of Plimoth in New England. . . . [London, 1624.] [Coll. VIII. 239-276.]

This followed the same course as the "Relation," and appears in Purchas, fourth part, pp. 1853–1867; also in the Collections, second series, Vol. IX. pp. 74–104, where it was printed from a copy of the original edition in the Harvard College Library. A complete reprint appears in Young's "Chronicles of the Pilgrim Fathers of the Colony of Plymouth" (Boston, 1841), pp. 269–375.

An historical sketch of the progress of Medical Science, in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, being the substance of a discourse read at the annual meeting of the Medical Society, June 6, 1810, with alterations and additions to January 1, 1813. By Hon. Josiah Bartlett, M.D. [Coll. 2d series, I. 105-139.]

This is a reprint of a pamphlet entitled "A Dissertation on the Progress of Medical Science, in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. Read at the annual meeting of the Massachusetts Medical Society, June 6th, 1810," Boston, 1810. A reference is made to it in Dr. Samuel A. Green's "History of Medicine in Massachusetts" (Boston, 1881), p. 117.

A History of New-England, from the English planting in the yeere 1628, untill the Yeere 1652 . . . London, 1654. [Coll. 2d series, II. 49-96; III. 123-161; IV. 1-51; VII. 1-58; VIII. 1-39.]

This appears in the Collections for the years 1814, 1815, 1816, 1818, and 1819, as given above; it was edited by James Savage from a copy procured in England by the Rev. Thaddeus M. Harris. The History is generally known by the running title "Wonder-working Providence of Sions Saviour, in New-England"; and it appeared also in 1654 under another title, varying slightly. It was also printed under the title "America Painted to the Life" (London, 1658), wrongly attributed to Ferdinando Gorges. An edition was published (Andover, 1867), with an Introduction and Notes by William Frederick Poole.

A Journal of Occurrences, which happened within the circle of my observation, in the detachment commanded by Col. Benedict Arnold, consisting of two battalions, which were detached from the army at Cambridge, in the year 1775. [Coll. 2d series, II. 227-247.]

This was printed in the Collections for 1814 from a manuscript found among the papers of Rev. Ezra Stiles, signed by Return J. Meigs. The Journal appeared originally in the year 1776 in a pamphlet of eleven pages without place, date, or printer's name, which was essentially the same as that which is found in the Collections. A large part of it is printed in Almon's Remembrancer for 1776, pp. 295–301. It was republished (New York, 1864) with an Introduction and Notes by Charles I. Bushnell, as No. 6 of his "Crumbs for Antiquarians," Vol. I.

New-Englands Jonas cast up at London: or, a Relation of the Proceedings of the Court at Boston in New-England... By Major John Child. London, 1647. [Coll. 2d series, IV. 107-120.]

This appears in the Collections for 1816. It was afterward reprinted in Force's "Tracts and other Papers" (Washington, 1846), Vol. IV. No. 3; and again (Boston, 1869), with an Introduction and Notes by William T. R. Marvin.

A brief History of the Pequot War: Especially of the memorable Taking of their Fort at Mistick in Connecticut in 1637. Written by Major John Mason . . . Boston, 1736. [Coll. 2d series, VIII. 120-153.]

This appears also as an "Appendix to the Case of the Governor and Company of Connecticut and Mohegan Indians" (London, 1769), and was reprinted by J. Sabin and Sons (New York, 1869).

The New Life of Virginea: . . . London, 1612. [Coll. 2d series, VIII. 199-227.]

This appears also in Force's "Tracts and other Papers" (Washington, 1836), Vol. I. No. 7.

A perfect Description of Virginia: . . . London, 1649. [Coll. 2d series, IX. 105-122.]

This appears also in Force's "Tracts and other Papers" (Washington, 1838), Vol. II. No. 8.

Advertisements for the unexperienced Planters of New-England, or any where . . . By Captaine Iohn Smith. London, 1631. [Coll. 3d series, III. 1-53.]

This appears in the Collections for 1833, and was reprinted in Boston (1865); and also by Edward Arber, in the Works of John Smith (Birmingham, Eng., 1884), pp. 917-966.

Plain Dealing: or, Nevves from New-England . . . By Thomas Lechford. London, 1642. [Coll. 3d series, III. 55-128.]

In 1644 this was reprinted with a new titlepage as follows: "New-Englands Advice to Old-England, or, Some Observations upon New-Englands Government.." It was printed in the Collections for 1833, as given above, and also appeared as No. IV. of the "Library of New-England History," with an Introduction and Notes by J. Hammond Trumbull (Boston, 1867).

An Account of two Voyages to New-England . . . By John Josselyn Gent. . . . The Second Addition. London, 1675. [Coll. 3d series, III. 211-396.]

This appears in the Collections for 1833, as given above, and is a reprint of the second edition, which is like the first, excepting the titlepage. It was also republished (Boston, 1865), by William Veazie, with an Introduction and Notes.

The Day-Breaking, if not the Sun-Rising of the Gospell with the Indians in New-England. London, 1647. [Coll. 3d series, IV. 1-23.]

This appears in the Collections for 1834, as given above, and it also forms No. IX. of Sabin's Reprints (New York, 1865), Quarto Series. There are good reasons, however, to believe that the pamphlet was not written by Eliot, as generally supposed.

The Clear Sun-shine of the Gospel breaking forth upon the Indians in New-England. By Thomas Shepard. London, 1648. [Coll. 3d series, IV. 25-67.]

This appears in the Collections for 1834, as given above, and also forms No. X. of Sabin's Reprints (New York, 1865), Quarto Series.

The Light appearing more and more towards the perfect Day. Or, a farther Discovery of the present state of the Indians in New-England, concerning the Progresse of the Gospel amongst them. Published by Henry Whitfield. London, 1651. [Coll. 3d series, IV. 100-147.]

This appears in the Collections for 1834, as given above, and also forms No. III. of Sabin's Reprints (New York, 1865), Quarto Series.

Strength out of Weaknesse; or a glorious Manifestation of the further Progresse of the Gospel among the Indians in New-England. Published by Henry Whitfield. London, 1652. [Coll. 3d series, IV. 149-196.]

This appears in the Collections for 1834, as given above, and also forms No. V. of Sabin's Reprints (New York, 1866), Quarto Series.

A Brief Narration of the Originall Undertakings of the Advancement of Plantations into the parts of America. . . . Written by the right Worshipfull Sir Ferdinando Gorges. London, 1658. [Coll. 3d series, VI. 45-93.]

This appears in the Collections for 1837, as given above, and also in the Collections of the Maine Historical Society (Portland, 1847), Vol. II. pp. v-65, following page 80.

A Description of New England: or the Observations, and Discoueries, of Captaine Iohn Smith . . . London, 1616. [Coll. 3d series, VI. 95-140.]

This appears in the Collections for 1837, as given above, and was also republished (Boston, 1865), by William Veazie, with an Introduction and Notes.

An Account of the Massachusetts Historical Society. [By William Jenks.] [Coll. 3d series, VII. 5-26.]

This also appeared in "The American Quarterly Register" (Vol. X.) for November, 1837, pp. 166-177.

A Voyage into New England, begun in 1623, and ended in 1624. Performed by Christopher Levett. London, 1628. [Coll. 3d series, VIII. 159-190.]

This was reprinted in the Collections for 1843, from a transcript procured in England by Jared Sparks. It again appeared in the Collections of the Maine Historical Society (Portland, 1847), Vol. II. pp. 75–109, following page 80, printed from a copy of the first edition in the Library of the New York Historical Society.

Collections concerning the Early History of the Founders of New Plymouth. By Joseph Hunter. [Coll. 4th series, I. 52-85.]

This appears in the Collections for 1852, and is a modification of Mr. Hunter's "Critical and Historical Tracts" (London, 1849), No. II. printed under a similar title. Another edition much enlarged was published in 1854, and in the "Preliminary Notice" to the volume, Mr. Hunter says, "I have been requested by the Massachusetts Historical Society to prepare a kind of New Edition for insertion in their Transactions."

Memoir of Rev. John Robinson. By the Rev. Robert Ashton. [Coll. 4th series, I. 111-164.]

This appears in the Collections for 1852, and is a reprint from "The Works of John Robinson" (Boston, 1851), Vol. I. pp. xi-lxxiv.

Many of Mr. Winthrop's papers and remarks before the Society appear also in his "Addresses and Speeches on various Occasions" (Boston, 1852–1886), Vols. II.—IV., but such are not specified in the foregoing list. His remarks on the death of Mr. Everett (Proc. VIII. 101–106) are found in his "Tributes to the Memory of Edward Everett" (Boston, 1865), which was privately printed.

The paper read before the Society by Mr. Ralph Waldo Emerson, on Thomas Carlyle (Proc. XVIII. 324-328), at the February Meeting, 1881, was reprinted in "Scribner's Monthly" (XXII. 89-91) for May of that year, in advance of the publication of the Proceedings, at the request of the late Dr. Josiah Gilbert Holland, one of our Corresponding Members and the editor of that magazine.

Mr. Charles Francis Adams's paper on Sir Christopher Gardiner (Proc. XX. 60-88), mentioned on page 221, was printed also in "Harper's New Monthly Magazine" (LXVI. 586-597) for March, 1883, where it appeared in advance of the publication of the Proceedings, but without the notes.

The following title should be inserted on page 236, in its proper place:—

Jenks, William. The Jenks Family. Copy of a Letter to Alonzo Lewis, Esq., of Lynn, Mass., intended for use in preparing the second ed. of his history of that town. No titlepage. [1844.] 8vo. pp. 6.

This was communicated at a meeting, September 26, 1844, and later printed in "The New-England Historical and Genealogical Register" (IX. 201-206) for July, 1855, from which it is reprinted, though it does not appear to have been used by Mr. Lewis, as implied in the title given above. (See Proceedings, II. 293 note.)

In connection with the volume of Belknap Papers laid before the Society at this meeting, Dr. Green called the attention of the members to an anecdote, related of Washington by Lieut. Col. Archibald Montgomery Maxwell, in his "A Run through the United States, during the Autumn of 1840" (London, 1841, two vols.). While Dr. Belknap's surname is singularly misspelled by the writer, and the orthography of Mr. Sparks's is not free from criticism, the story illustrates Washington's

extreme exactness in small matters. The reference in the extract, however, is not to the History of New Hampshire, but to the American Biography, of which the second volume was passing through the press at the time of the author's death. The account is as follows:—

"A Mr. Belnass, son of the historian of New Hampshire, was shewing with exultation a kind note he had received, when a boy at school, from the great Washington. Belnass, the father, had died before the publication of his history, and his widow wrote to Washington, stating that the work had been completed before her husband's death, and that she purposed publishing it to the best of her ability, and requesting to know if he was still willing to take the number of copies for which he had originally subscribed. The reply was sent to her son. It was plain, simple, kind, and condoling, and of course expressing his intention to abide by his engagement; but, although now a valuable document, it was in itself a mere unimportant note. The person to whom it was shewn, knowing the extraordinary habits of this extraordinary man, laid a wager that a copy of it would be found amongst Washington's papers.

"Accordingly the party proceeded to Mr. Sparkes, to whom the government had confided the arrangement of them. When the story was told, Mr. Sparkes led them into apartments filled with papers of all kinds — cards of invitation, correspondence with statesmen and kings, washerwomen's bills, diplomatic documents, familiar notes, and legislative treaties. Mr. Sparkes looked at the note, acknowledged it to be the handwriting of Washington, and said, 'Yes, there is a copy of it'; and, suiting the action to the word, immediately produced it; and, what was still more curious, there happened to be an erasure and correction in the original, and the same was exhibited in the copy" (I. 181, 182).

Mr. Benjamin Marston Watson, of Plymouth, was elected a Resident Member; and the Abbé Henry Raymond Casgrain, of Quebec, a Corresponding Member.

A serial number of the Proceedings, comprising the record of the December and January meetings and the Centennial Commemoration, was ready for delivery at this meeting. It was announced that the volume of Belknap Papers was ready for delivery on the one hundredth anniversary of the formation of the Society.